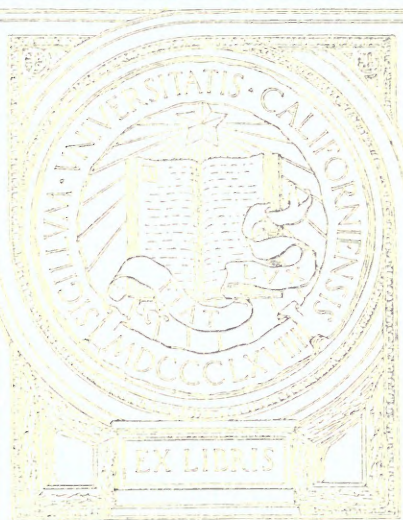




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THE  
HISTORY OF SPAIN,

FROM THE  
*EARLIEST PERIOD*

TO THE  
CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1809.

—»««—  
IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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*BY JOHN BIGLAND,*

Author of "Letters on the Study of Ancient and Modern History," &c.

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## PREFACE.

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**T**HE History of Spain, although very imperfectly known to the generality of English readers, constitutes an important part of the history of the world. There scarcely exists a nation of which the transactions have had a greater influence on the destinies of Europe, or of which the annals afford lessons of greater importance. Neither ancient nor modern history furnishes any instance of an empire in which so great natural advantages, and so many fortunate incidents, have been so completely counteracted by political mismanagement. These considerations render an historical view of the Spanish monarchy an object which must, at all times, command the attention of the

statesman and the moral philosopher. At this momentous crisis it is peculiarly important. The tremendous events which have lately occurred, and the lively interest which the British nation has taken in all that relates to the destinies of Spain, indicate the propriety of looking back to that chain of causes which, by various revolutions, conducted her to that high degree of elevation in which she once stood, and has sunk her into her present state of depression.

History being the register of human actions and the mirror of human nature, is the school of political and social science, and the study the most congenial to the mind of man. But the manner in which it is written in modern times, renders the knowledge of it almost inaccessible. When every narrative, however unimportant, is extended to a tedious prolixity; when obscure or doubtful details, originating in the imagination of historians, and re-echoed from one to another, are spun out into endless verbosity: and ponderous volumes are filled with uncertain and unin-

interesting matter, only a small number of persons have the leisure to peruse those tiresome records ; and the greatest part of readers must remain ignorant of the transactions of past ages.

Having been long accustomed to consider the subject in this light, I could not read, without approbation, the admonition contained in a periodical work of criticism, of which the extensive circulation is a proof of its popularity. “It is,” say the Edinburgh reviewers, “a grievous thing  
 “to see literature become daily more  
 “inaccessible, and books swelled in bulk  
 “as well as costliness, till few are able to  
 “purchase and still fewer to peruse them.”  
 . . . . . “A man of letters, who under-  
 “takes a new work, has a duty imposed  
 “upon him to regard the common weal  
 “of literature, and withstand that pro-  
 “digious multiplication of printed paper  
 “which is the vice of our age.” *Edinburgh Rev.* No. 25. p. 135.

Deeply impressed by observations so congenial to my own sentiments, and which are indeed too obvious to escape

the attention of any person that casts the slightest glance on the subject, I have endeavoured to give a distinct and comprehensive view of Spanish history condensed within so moderate a compass as not to weary the attention nor overburthen the memory of the reader. In performing this task it was necessary to pass slightly over ill authenticated, doubtful, and trifling particulars, in order to expatiate more fully on the great events which have had a decided influence on the fortunes of the Spanish nation. In writing on any historical subject, indeed, the different parts of the narrative ought to be extended or contracted in proportion to the greater or less importance of the transaction related. Daily experience must convince us that, amidst the mass of contradictory evidence, it is extremely difficult to procure an authentic account of the particulars of such transactions as occur at the present time ; and it would be an imposition on the reader to pretend to relate, with precision, the particulars of the numberless battles and sieges, and still more

of the dark and secret cabals of former ages. Could these even be detailed with the most punctilious accuracy, they would, at this day, be uninteresting. After reading the most voluminous histories, the remarkable characters, the great actions and events, and the general results, alone are remembered. By omitting unauthenticated circumstances and uninteresting particulars, which tend only to mislead and weary, instead of instructing and entertaining the reader, I presume that I have distinctly related all that is important in the history of Spain, and developed the principal causes which have produced the long decline and the present degradation of a monarchy which once filled all Europe with the terror of its arms, and spread far and wide the dread of its power.

The authorities on which this history is grounded are chiefly the following : viz.

Polybii. Hist.—Titii Livii Hist. ab Urb Cond.—Sueton. Vita Augusti.—Plutarch Vita Scip. Hanibb. Cæs. &c.—Plinii. Hist. Nat.—Marianæ Hist. de rebus Hispanicis.—Gibbon's Dec. Rom. Emp.—Cardonne Hist. de L'Afrique et de L'Espagne sous la domination des Arabes.—Herrera Gen. Hist.—Life of Columbus by Ferdinando Columbus.—Robertson's Hist. Charles V.—Robertson's Hist. America.—Sleidan's

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# THE HISTORY OF SPAIN.

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## CHAP. I.

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Situation and physical advantages of the Spanish Peninsula.—Arrival of the Phœnicians.—Foundation of Cadiz.—War between the colony of Cadiz and the Aborigines.—The Carthaginians called in to the aid of the colony.—View of the state of Spain at that epoch.—Fabulous account of the foundation of Lisbon.—Hamilcar subdues Bætica and is slain.—Successes of Asdrubal: his death.—Hannibal undertakes to complete the conquest of Spain.—Siege and destruction of Saguntum.—Contest between the Carthaginians and the Romans for the possession of Spain.—Death of the two Scipios, Cneius and Publius.—Successes of Cornelius Scipio in Spain.—Spain ceded to the Romans.—Tarragona and other strong cities founded.—Rebellion of the Lusitanians—Rebellion of the Cantabrians—Memorable siege and destruction of Numantia.—Spain espouses the party of Pompey.—Is reduced by Cæsar.—Formidable revolt of the Cantabrians in the reign of Augustus.—Their final reduction by Agrippa.—Foundation of Saragossa and Merida.

THE rise, the progress, the various revolutions, the immense aggrandizement, and the remarkable decline of the Spanish monarchy, present a

series of history equally interesting to the statesman, the merchant, and the moral philosopher. No other part of Europe, except Greece\* and Italy, exhibits a similar spectacle of a country possessing the greatest physical advantages, impoverished, depressed, and degraded by a train of political and moral causes of a nature equally peculiar and singular.

The great peninsula, comprising Spain and Portugal, being situated between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean, and nearly surrounded by the sea, having its coasts indented with a number of excellent harbours, possesses all the advantages of a commercial situation. In most of the provinces the soil is fertile and the climate salubrious, and if industriously cultivated, few countries could better supply the wants or even the luxuries of a numerous population. It is amidst the events of her history that we must search for the causes which have, in almost every age, prevented Spain from flourishing in proportion to the blessings lavished on it by nature, and to the opportunities with which she has even been favoured by Providence.

The origin of nations is for the most part buried in obscurity. At what time Spain was

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\* In the general appellation of Greece, it is here intended to include Macedonia and some of the other neighbouring parts.

first peopled, or who were the first inhabitants that settled on her shores, are circumstances totally unknown. But it is certain that, at a very early period, the Phœnicians traded to the Spanish coasts, and it is generally affirmed that more than a thousand years before the christian era, the city of Cadiz rose under their auspices.\*

This Phœnician colony, securely seated on an island, separated by a narrow strait from the continent, and chiefly engaged in commercial affairs, seems to have remained during the space of several centuries in a peaceable and flourishing state. At length being involved in an unsuccessful contest with the inhabitants of Bœtica, the present Province of Andalusia, they called  
 A. A. C. 228. to their assistance the Carthaginians, who, like themselves, were of Phœnician extraction, and united with them by commercial connexions.

When Spain first became known to the Carthaginians, the country was possessed by a number of barbarous nations and tribes. Their distinctions and their respective boundaries, could they even be accurately delineated, would be uninteresting to a modern reader. Some of the principal nations of this vast peninsula, how-

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\* Cadiz was founded by a Phœnician colony. Vellei Patercub. lib. 1. cap. 22.

ever, claim some notice, and make some figure in Roman history. These were the Bœticians who inhabited Andalusia and Grenada, the southernmost parts of Spain, the Lusitanians, who occupied the modern Portugal, the Celtiberians,\* possessing the Province of Arragon, the Lacetani of the modern Catalonia, and the Cantabrians, inhabiting the northern countries of Biscay and Asturia. To these might be added various nations of inferior fame and importance, as the Vaccei, whose capital, in the modern Province of Leon, and near the borders of Asturia, is still known by its ancient name of Palantia, the Edetani, the Callaici,† and other tribes, too numerous to be mentioned, and too uninteresting to excite attention. The dispositions, the manners, and customs of these different nations or tribes, seem to have been nearly similar: bold, subtle, and sanguinary, like the generality of barbarians, they were chiefly occupied in vindictive or predatory wars, and paid little attention to the arts and employments of peace. Their garments were rude, their bodies painted with various colours, and their long hair decorated with ornaments of gold and silver. Their

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\* The name of Celtiberians indicates their Celtic origin, and their situation adjacent to the Iberus or Ebro, which intersects the Province of Arragon.

† The Callaici inhabited the modern Province of Galicia, and the corruption of the ancient seems to have produced the modern name.

religion seems to have borne some resemblance to that of the Druids in Gaul and Britain. They acknowledged one Supreme Being, but worshipped a number of subordinate deities. They considered the most gloomy groves as the chosen residence of their gods, and under those awful shades propitiated their favour by human sacrifices. The natural wealth of the country, and the commercial advantages which it offered, however, had attracted several foreign colonies to settle and build cities on its coasts : of these the principal were Cadiz, already mentioned, Saguntum founded, at an early period, by a colony of Greeks, and Lisbon, on the Tagus, a city of which the origin is so completely involved in obscurity, that fable has ascribed its foundation to Ulysses.

Such was the situation of Spain when Hamilcar, the father of the celebrated Hannibal, first disembarked the forces of Carthage on its coast. The resistance which he found was such as might have been expected from numerous hordes of barbarians, fierce, independent, and warlike, in whom nothing of the soldier was wanting except regular discipline. In nine years of incessant warfare Hamilcar subdued the Province of Bœtica, but advancing at length into Lusitania, he was surrounded and slain near the banks of the Tagus. His brother, Asdrubal, succeeded

to the command, and partly by arms and partly by address, induced the Callaici, the Celtiberians, and the various tribes which occupied the modern Provinces of Murcia, Valentia, the two Castiles, and Leon, to submit to the Carthaginian yoke.

In the midst of success Asdrubal fell by the hand of an assassin; and the command devolved on his nephew, the celebrated Hannibal, who, in his infancy, had sworn on the altar eternal hostility to Rome, and resolved to begin the execution of his designs by completing the conquest of Spain. Having employed two years in making immense preparations, he commenced hostilities by the siege of Saguntum, a city which was in alliance with the Romans, and under their protection. During the space of eight months the valour of the inhabitants, and the strength of their walls, baffled all the efforts of the besiegers. At length the city was taken by assault; and the inhabitants, in this last extremity, displayed their invincible resolution, by setting fire to their houses, and involving themselves and their effects in one general destruction. After the annihilation of Saguntum, Hannibal reduced the whole of Spain under the Carthaginian yoke, except the mountainous country of Cantabria, which seems to have still retained its independence. The military skill and political

address of that general rendered him equally qualified to command an army, and to conciliate the jarring passions of rival tribes. The formerly hostile Spaniards augmented the Carthaginian forces: they joined, with alacrity, the standard of Hannibal; and several thousands of those martial barbarians,\* having marched under his banner across the Pyrenees and the Alps, displayed their valour in the bloody fields of Trebia, Trasymene, and Cannæ.

From this period Spain and Italy were the two theatres on which Carthage and Rome long contended for the superiority. On the part of the Romans the two brothers Cneius and Publius Scipio, had the conduct of the Spanish war; but both these illustrious chiefs, elated by the successes of seven prosperous campaigns, and meditating the entire conquest of the country, at length fell gloriously at the head of their armies, overwhelmed by the united forces of Carthage and Spain. In order to retrieve these misfortunes Cornelius Scipio, afterwards distinguished by the surname of Africanus, was sent from Rome to take the command of the army in Spain. That hero, the son of Publius Scipio, was only twenty-four years of age when, invested with the proconsular dignity, he undertook the arduous task

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\* Polyb. lib. 3. chap. 4, 5.

of avenging his father's death, and supporting the glory of the Roman name. His arrival in the hostile country opened a splendid career of victory. Extending his conquests on every side, he made himself master of New Carthage, which afforded immense plunder to his soldiers; and his heroic generosity and self denial, in restoring a beautiful captive to a Celtiberian Prince, her betrothed spouse, conciliated the affections of one of the most powerful nations of Spain.\*

In several parts of the country, however, the Carthaginian influence prevailed, and excited the natives to arm against the growing power of Rome. A body of 22,500 Spaniards, of whom 2,500 were cavalry, commanded by two of their Princes, undertook to support the fortunes of Carthage, and left 17,000 of their number on the ensanguined field. The open country submitted to the Roman arms; and Scipio, in order to complete the expulsion of the Carthaginians, immediately commenced the siege of Cadiz, where the shattered remains of their forces were concentrated. The fortifications of the city yielded to the assaults of the besiegers, and the reiterated shocks of their machines: and the Roman Eagles were displayed from the Pyrenees to the Pillars of Hercules.

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\* Liv. lib. 26. chap. 10.

At the memorable battle of Zama the genius of Carthage sunk under the superior prowess or fortune of Rome: Spain was yielded to the victors and became a Roman province, numerous colonies were established, and fortified cities arose in different parts of the country. Of these Terragona, in a lofty and advantageous situation, on the coast of the Mediterranean, nearly midway between Barcelona and the mouth of the Ebro, was long considered as the chief, since it permitted the Romans, by a short and easy navigation, to pour their forces into Spain.

The Roman power now seemed firmly established; but a people impatient of control, and regardless of danger, could not long endure a state of dependence and servitude. The Spaniards revolted in different parts, and, during a number of years, furnished occupation to the legions of Rome, and exercised the talents of her generals. Various instances of Roman oppression and perfidy excited the Lusitanians to make the most vigorous efforts, and under the command of Viriatus, who, in the obscure station of a private soldier, had acquired the talents of a general, they long held the Roman arms at defiance. This enterprising chief defeated the armies of Rome in several bloody engagements, and established his dominion over nearly one-third of the Spanish peninsula. But although invincible in

arms he fell a victim to perfidy. During the negotiations for a treaty of peace with Quintus Servilius Cæpio, conspirators, bribed with Roman gold, assassinated him in his tent at the silent hour of midnight, while, exhausted with the cares and toils of his station, he was taking a necessary repose. The Lusitanians lamented the loss and honoured the memory of their general. His obsequies were solemnized with barbarian magnificence ; but his empire fell with its founder. Tantalus, whom the suffrages of the people raised to the supreme command, did not possess the abilities of his predecessor, but sunk under the difficulties of his situation. The Roman Eagles were displayed through the western part of the peninsula. The Lusitanians saw their fields laid waste and their cities reduced to ashes ; but their bands of hardy warriors retired to the fastnesses of their mountains : in those inaccessible retreats they defied the power and policy of the Romans, and to their demand of tribute returned for answer, that their ancestors had left them steel to defend, but not gold to redeem their possessions.

The Celtiberians, in the mean while, were not less inflamed with the enthusiastic ardour of freedom. The city of Numantia, situated near the source of the Duero, and not far from the modern town of Soria, asserted her native right to inde-

pendence. The warlike inhabitants sallied from their gates and repulsed the disciplined troops of the Romans; and Quintus Pompeius, having afterwards approached their walls with an army of 30,000 veterans, was glad to accede to a treaty, by which the Numantians agreed to pay thirty talents at different periods, and to deliver up the Roman deserters and prisoners.

But the senate refused to ratify the treaty; and when Viriatus was no more, and the resistance of the Lusitanians was confined within the limits of their own mountains, the Romans again displayed the signals of hostility. The Numantians, rushing out of the city, totally defeated another Roman army conducted by Pompilius Lænas, whose shattered forces preserved a cautious distance during the remaining part of the campaign. The next commander who displayed the Roman Eagles before the walls of Numantia was the consul, Hostilius Mancinus, who, after 20,000 Romans had been slaughtered by about four thousand Numantians, was, with the fugitive remnant of his army, surrounded by the victors, and preserved from the sword by a treaty to which the senate again refused its ratification. The glory of the Spaniards, however, was not confined to one theatre. Emilius Lepidus, who had been appointed successor to Mancinus, was repulsed from before the walls of Palentia, with the loss

of fix thousand Legionaries. But that city was sometime afterwards obliged to surrender to Calphurnius Piso, and the Spaniards, after being elated by success, began to experience the vicissitudes of war.

Numantia long stood the glory of Spain and the disgrace of the Roman arms. That celebrated city was about three miles in circumference, and seated on a lofty hill ; but, according to the confession of the Roman historians, the number of its citizens, able to bear arms, did not exceed ten thousand. Their minds, however, were fortified by the love of liberty and the contempt of death ; and, during the space of fourteen years, this small but enthusiastic body of warriors defied the power of Rome. The reduction of Numantia was reserved for the genius and fortune of a second Scipio Africanus, who had immortalized his name by the capture and destruction of Carthage. But this experienced commander, though at the head of sixty thousand men, did not venture hastily to approach those inauspicious walls, before which so many Roman generals had suffered discomfiture and disgrace, and employed a whole year in confirming the discipline of his army before he judged it expedient to advance to the city. The Numantians, by their reiterated attacks, retarded his march ; but their impetuous valour was compelled to yield to the steady

courage and superior number of their enemies. They had the mortification of seeing their fields laid waste by the invaders, and were obliged to retreat within the walls of their city, which was soon after closely besieged.

The citizens of Numantia offered to acknowledge the sovereignty of Rome on honourable terms; but the senate required the surrender of themselves and their city at discretion. These indignant warriors, therefore, preferring a glorious death to a life of servitude, sallied from the city, and offered battle to the numerous host of their enemies. But the prudence of Scipio declined to expose his soldiers to the desperate valour of men determined to die, and resolving to reduce the devoted city by famine, he cautiously restrained the Romans within their trenches. No hope was now left for the Numantians, unless the martial tribes of Spain should take arms in their favour; but the whole country was overawed by the legions of Rome. The single city of Lutia, of which no vestige now remains, adopted the generous resolution of supporting the sinking fortunes of Numantia; but before they could make any attempt for that purpose they were anticipated by the Roman general, who had been apprized of their design. Four hundred of their young men, of the highest rank, suffered the amputation of the right hand;

and their punishment warned the neighbouring nations of the danger of provoking the vengeance of Rome.

The Numantians, at last being left without hope, and exposed to the horrors of famine, resolved to sell their lives at the dearest rate. They made a desperate sally, and, attacking the Roman lines, exerted the last efforts of their valour in a horrible carnage of their enemies. Their strength was at length exhausted by the unequal conflict; but their spirits were still unsubdued. Disdaining to follow the triumphal car of the conquerors, or to enrich them with their spoils, those who did not fall by the sword, being driven into the city, set fire to their houses and consumed themselves, their families, and their effects, in the general conflagration. Numantia, so famous in Roman history, was thus reduced to a heap of ashes and ruins; and of all the inhabitants only fifty could be snatched from the flames to adorn the triumph of the victor.

After the fall of Numantia the greatest part of the peninsula submitted peaceably to the Roman yoke. The Cantabrians, and some of the Lusitanians, in the fastnesses of their mountains, for some time preserved their freedom, and braving, in their craggy retreats, the resentment of Rome, often invaded the plain and fertile countries. Their enterprises, however, were confined to

predatory excursions, and make no figure in history. But amidst the civil dissensions of the Roman republic the name of Spain is often conspicuous. In this country Sertorius, whose name is ranked with those of the ablest commanders of antiquity, long supported the sinking party of Marius, while that of Sylla was triumphant in Italy. Sertorius fell by treason; and Spain was compelled to submit to the arms of Pompey. But that celebrated Roman appears to have used his victory with moderation, for in his subsequent contest with Cæsar the Spaniards espoused his cause with ardour. Even when Pompey was no more, Spain revered his memory and protected his sons. The martial Spaniards joined, with alacrity, the legions that adhered to the Pompeian party; and it required the presence of Cæsar himself, with the exertion of all his military talents, to put an end to the contest. After a variety of actions, and the capture of Munda, Cordova, and Hispalis the modern Seville, Cæsar reduced Spain to his obedience, and obliged that province to expiate its attachment to Pompey by heavy contributions.

It was not, however, till the reign of Augustus that Spain could be considered as completely brought under the Roman yoke. The Cantabrians, in their mountainous recesses, had, till then, maintained their independence, and their

predatory inroads afforded the Romans a plausible pretext for attempting their subjugation. Augustus visited Spain in person, and fixed his residence at Tarragona, while the Roman legions penetrated into the mountainous regions of Cantabria. The natives defended their country and their freedom with their ancient and hereditary valour. But, between their irregular bands and the disciplined legions of Rome, the contest was unequal. The Cantabrian army, consisting of twenty-three thousand men, was surrounded, and obliged to surrender. Ten thousand of their ablest warriors were incorporated among the legions, and condemned to employ their strength and courage in fighting the battles of Rome : the rest were sold into slavery : but their invincible resolution disappointed the views of their purchasers, and most of them embraced a voluntary death. The Roman armies, entering the modern Province of Asturias on different sides, explored the interior retreats of the barbarians, and involved them in one general conflagration. All the northern part of Spain was in this manner brought under the Roman dominion. And Augustus, in order to overawe the interior, as well as to perpetuate the memory of his expedition to Spain, founded the cities of Cæsar Augusta, and Augusta Emerita, known, at this day, by the names of Saragossa and Merida.

The sanguinary defeat and severe chastisement of the Cantabrians, however, had not broken their independent spirit, nor extinguished their martial ardour. Regardless of their recent disasters, five years had scarcely elapsed before they again rose in arms, and set the power of Rome at defiance. The well known character of the Cantabrians required the talents of the ablest of the Roman commanders to oppose the efforts of their desperate valour; and the celebrated Agrippa, son in law of Augustus, being appointed to conduct this important war, marched with his veteran legions against the insurgents. As soon as the hostile armies met, the Cantabrians furiously rushed on the Roman legions, whose tried valour was obliged to give way to the impetuous shock. Agrippa rallied his forces, and reanimated their courage by his example. The conflict was long and extremely sanguinary; and Agrippa confessed, that of all the engagements, in which he had commanded, this was the most severe and obstinate. The steady courage and regular discipline of the Romans, however, at length proved an overmatch for the impetuous valour of their adversaries. Although dearly purchased with the loss of great numbers of the bravest legionaries, the victory was complete: the Cantabrians were defeated with a terrible slaughter; their strong positions

were discovered and forced by the victors : their martial tribes were compelled to descend from the mountains and fix their abode in the plains, and to exchange a life of precarious adventure and predatory war for the peaceful pursuits of agriculture. The resistance of the Cantabrians was the last struggle of the Spaniards against the power of Rome. About two hundred years had elapsed from the first entrance of the Roman legions into Spain, when the arms of Agrippa reduced the whole peninsula to complete and peaceable subjection.

In order to divide the power of his lieutenants, the policy of Augustus distributed the Spanish peninsula into three distinct provinces, *Tarraconensis*, *Lusitania*, and *Bætica*. *Tarraconensis* comprised the modern Provinces of Galicia, Asturias, Biscay, Navarre, Catalonia, the two Castiles, Arragon, Valentia, and Murcia : *Lusitania*, extending from the Duero to the mouth of the Anas, corresponded nearly with the kingdom of Portugal ; and *Bætica* comprehended the southern parts of Spain, having the Sierra Morena for its northern boundary.

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## CHAP. II.

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State of Spain under the Romans.—Quantity of gold and silver drawn from the Spanish mines.—Invasion of the Franks.—Recovery of Spain by the Romans.—Contentions of the rival Pretenders to the Roman purple.—Conquest of Spain by the Vandals, the Suevi, and the Alani.—Dreadful state to which the country was reduced.—Some bands of martial Spaniards maintain their independence.—Adolphus, the Gothic King, undertakes the conquest of Spain.—His death.—The Gothic sceptre usurped by Singeric.—Short reign of Singeric.—Wallia elected King of the Goths.—He subdues the Silingi and the Alani, and recovers the greatest part of Spain.—Spain a second time devastated by the Suevi.—Hermanric, King of the Suevi, drowned in the Anas.—Genferic, King of the Vandals, abandons Spain, and founds a kingdom in Africa.—Spain ravaged by the Suevi.—Theodoric, King of the Visigoths, invades Spain, subdues the Suevi, and compels them to retire to the mountains of Gallicia and Asturia.—Theodoric evacuates Spain.—Euric, King of the Visigoths, conquers the greatest part of Spain.—Clovis, King of the Franks, attacks the kingdom of the Visigoths.—Capture of Thoulouse and Bourdeaux.—Alaric, King of the Goths, killed in battle.—The Goths expelled from all their dominions to the North of the Garonne.

**DURING** the time that Spain remained in peaceable subjection as a Roman province, her ferocious tribes emerged from their native barbarism. The numerous Roman colonies, established in the different districts, diffused through

every part of the peninsula the benefits of agriculture and the elegance of the arts. The grape and the olive, with a variety of excellent fruits, were introduced into Spain; and Columella, a native of the country, has described, in elegant Latin, the advanced state of the Spanish husbandry in the reign of Tiberius. But the wealth which the earth contained in its bowels was not less an object of attention than the fertility of its surface: a single mine near Carthagena produced daily 25,000 drachmas of silver,\* and twenty thousand pounds weight of gold was annually received from the Provinces of Lusitania, Galicia, and Asturia.† Subsequent calamities checked the spirit of speculation and enterprise in the search of those subterraneous riches; and the discovery of the superior wealth of America has induced a total neglect of the Spanish mines. But under the Roman dominion, Spain was to Rome, what Mexico and Peru have since been to Spain. And the Roman proconsuls, and their dependents, went into that country with the same views of amassing a fortune as the Spanish viceroys and other public functionaries have carried with them into America. The riches diffused by the mines through every part

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\* Strabo lib. 3—148.

† Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 33. cap. 3.

of the peninsula was apparent in the splendour of the cities and the monuments of public grandeur, the ruins of which, after the lapse of so many centuries, and after so many national convulsions, still discover several vestiges of Roman magnificence.\*

The natives of Spain shewed themselves worthy of the natural advantages of their country. In arms and in letters they shone conspicuous among the various nations that composed the Roman empire. Their names were often inscribed among the most illustrious of the Consular Senators; and the Emperors Trajan and Hadrian, both natives of the city of Italica, now known by the name of Old Seville, gave a new lustre to the Spanish character by the glory and happiness which they diffused over the Roman world. In the more humble and peaceful walks of genius, Spain could boast of Florus, the historian, her offspring and ornament, as well as of Martial, the epigrammatic epigrammatist, a native of Bilbilis, on the banks of the Xalon; and the city of Cordova, in particular, claims the literary and philosophic honour of having given birth to Lucan, the celebrated epic poet, and the immortal Seneca, whose reputation of

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\* For the state of Spain under the Romans, vide Gibbon *Dec. Rom. Emp.* cap. 31. p. 350, &c.

wisdom has descended through the lapse of almost eighteen centuries.

When the clouds of barbarism from the north burst on the Roman empire, Spain was involved in the general night of darkness and calamity. The reign of Gallienus was the era from which we must date the commencement of those troubles which convulsed and at last overwhelmed the civilized world; and the Franks were the first barbarians whose ravages Spain was doomed to experience. From the banks of the Rhine a large body of those hardy adventurers having penetrated through Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees and ravaged the Spanish provinces. During the space of twelve years they extended their devastations through the whole of the peninsula, after which they passed over into Mauritania in search of new scenes of adventure and pillage.

A succession of warlike Emperors restored the Roman state to its former prosperity, and Spain resumed her former splendour. Agriculture and commerce revived; and although an hundred and fifty years of peace had not wholly obliterated the footsteps of the Franks, the cities of Tarragona, Merida, Seville, and Cordova, maintained their rank among those of the Roman empire. But the feeble sway of Honorius encouraged the ambition of his generals to usurp

the imperial purple, and their rival claims exhausted the strength of the empire in civil dissensions. Constantine, who had been acknowledged Emperor in Britain and Gaul, soon afterwards received the submission of Spain. But the reign of the usurper was short. He had the mortification of seeing the revolt of Spain, which, by the influence of his general, Gerontius, invested Maximus with the purple. Gerontius, and the two rival usurpers, were involved in the same fate, being overwhelmed by the superior fortune of Constantius, the general of Honorius. These contests, between the different pretenders to imperial authority, were followed by more dreadful convulsions. About a year before the sack of Rome by the Goths under Alaric, the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani, poured through the passes of the Pyrenees, and carried havoc and desolation into Spain.\* The devastation of their country produced all the horrors of famine, which was soon followed by the pestilence, its general concomitant. A very large proportion of the people was swept away, and the wild beasts multiplied without control in the once fertile fields now changed into deserts. At length these barbarian hordes fixed their permanent seats in the depopulated country. The

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\* Gibbon *Dec. Rom. Emp.* vol. 5. cap. 31.

Vandals and the Suevi divided between them most of the northern districts. The Alani took possession of the middle part of Spain, extending from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, and including Lusitania or the modern Portugal ; and the Silingi, a branch of the Vandalic nation, occupied the Province of Bœtica, comprising the southernmost portion of the peninsula. The barbarians, however, being themselves afflicted with the evils which they had introduced, were obliged to direct their attention to the re-establishment of order, and the revival of agriculture. Having contracted with the conquered people some reciprocal engagements of protection and obedience, the towns and villages were again occupied and the lands were cultivated by servile hands. A considerable number, however, of the martial Spaniards retired to the mountainous parts of the country, where they bravely maintained their freedom.

Such was the state of Spain when the Gothic King, Adolphus, brother of the famous Alaric, and brother-in-law to Honorius, whose sister, Placidia, he had married, was commissioned by that Emperor to undertake the recovery of the peninsula. From Gaul he passed the Pyrenees, and in the name of the Emperor took possession of Barcelona, where he soon after perished by assassination. Singeric, one of the

chief conspirators, usurped the Gothic throne, and after a reign of only seven days fell, in his turn, by the hand of an assassin. The Gothic sceptre was then, by the national suffrage, committed to the warlike hand of Wallia; and the new monarch, following the example of Adolphus, drew his sword in the service of Honorius, and undertook the conquest of Spain. After three obstinate and bloody campaigns, Wallia proved victorious. In Bœtica the Silingi were almost extirpated; the Alani, in Lusitania, suffered nearly the same fate, and their King fell in battle. The scattered remnant of these nations ranged themselves under the banners of the Vandals and the Suevi; but the ferocious valour of those German tribes was obliged to yield to the superior tactics and martial ardour of the Gothic Chief; and after many bloody engagements, the promiscuous herd of barbarians were driven into the mountainous regions of Galicia and Asturia.

The courage and conduct of Wallia had restored the Spanish peninsula to the empire of Rome; but only a short time elapsed before all his conquests were lost. On the retreat of the Goths the Vandals had emerged from their fastnesses in the mountains: and Spain was again the theatre of their devastations. Seville and Carthagenæ opened their gates to the victorious

barbarians, who seizing the vessels, found in those ports, used them in the execution of new enterprises. The Isles of Majorca and Minorca had long served as a retreat to many of the opulent Spaniards, who, in order to avoid the calamities of war and barbarian pillage, had retired thither with their effects. But their hopes of security, in those sequestered islands, proved illusory. The Vandals embarking on board the ships, of which they had gained possession, pursued the fugitives into their retreat and returned to Spain with their fleet laden with spoil.

The Vandals and the Suevi, from allies, had now become enemies, and amidst the obscurity which envelopes the events of those times, history records a bloody engagement which took place near Merida, between Genseric, King of the Vandals, and Hermanric, King of the Suevi, in which the latter being totally defeated, was driven into the river Anas, where he perished with most of his army.

Genseric, however, soon after this victory abandoned Spain, and fixed in Africa the seat of the Vandalic monarchy. The Suevi, notwithstanding their recent disasters, were still numerous in the mountains of Galicia; and after the retreat of the Vandals, they issued from their gloomy recesses and ravaged the fertile pro-

vinces. About thirty years after the departure of Genferic, the complaints of the Spaniards induced the Emperor Avitus to commission Theodoric, King of the Goths, to chastise the Suevi, and re-establish the Roman dominion throughout Spain. The Gothic monarch crossed the Pyrenees, and on the banks of the Urbicus, ten or twelve miles from Astorga, totally defeated the Suevi, whose King, Recharius, after escaping from the carnage, was delivered up to the victor and led to immediate execution. The Suevi being thus vanquished in battle, and once more confined to the mountains of Galicia and Asturia, the King of the Visigoths met with no opposition to his progress. But he was diverted from completing the conquest of Spain by a new revolution in Italy. Avitus was no longer Emperor, and Theodoric, on hearing of the deposition of his friend and ally, evacuated Spain and re-crossed the Pyrenees.

The conquest, which Theodoric had begun, was completed by his brother, Euric, who wielded the Gothic sceptre with vigour and ability. Having crossed the Pyrenees with a formidable army, he overwhelmed all opposition, but he seemed to decline a contest with the martial bands of the Suevi, in the mountains of Galicia and Asturia. A treaty of amity and alliance was concluded, and those hardy warriors re-

mained, independent, in their mountainous regions, while all the rest of Spain acknowledged the sovereignty of Euric.\*

It appears that Euric had atchieved the conquest of Spain in his own name, and had not, like his predecessors, acted merely as an ally of the Emperor, and under an imperial commission. In his reign, indeed, the empire of the West was totally dissolved; and when Odoacer sat down on the throne of the Cæsars, he resigned to Euric all the Roman dominions beyond the Alps. The city of Thoulouse had hitherto been the capital of the kingdom of the Visigoths; but Euric fixed his residence at Bourdeaux, where he reigned with a splendour corresponding with his power and his fame.

Euric expired in the midst of prosperity, and the throne was filled by his son, Alaric, a brave but inexperienced youth, the disasters of whose reign form a contrast with the good fortune of his predecessor. The Franks under their King, Clovis, issuing from the countries, watered by the Meuse, the Scheld, the Moselle, and the Rhine, had already extended their conquests to southward of the Seine. Their monarch desirous of completing the conquest of Gaul, resolved to attack the kingdom of the Visigoths,

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\* For the character of the Suevi vide Cæs. Comm. lib. 4.

which comprised some of its finest provinces. Ambition and avarice were the motives by which Clovis was actuated; but religion served as a pretext for aggression. Soon after Constantine had established the christian religion in the Roman empire, the Goths had also embraced its doctrines; but the christianity of the Goths was Arianism, which had been propagated among them by missionaries from Constantinople. The Franks, together with their monarch, on being converted from Paganism, had embraced the orthodox faith of the Trinity; and Clovis, disguising his ambition with the veil of religion, in a moment of profound peace, invaded the Arian kingdom of the Visigoths. A decisive battle was fought not many miles to the south of Poitiers: the Goths were totally routed, and Alaric, their King, found an honourable death in the field. Clovis fixed his winter quarters at Bourdeaux. In the spring, Thoulouse surrendered to the victor, and the regalia of the Gothic Kings was transported to Paris. The Franks pushing forward their conquests, laid siege to the city of Arles; and the complete expulsion of the Visigoths from Gaul was prevented only by the arms of Theodoric, the Ostrogothic King of Italy, who declared himself the protector of the infant son of Alaric, and marched against the invaders. Clovis, after

having lost a great number of men, was obliged to retire from the walls of Arles; and a treaty of peace was concluded.\* All the country, however, from the Loire to the Garonne, was indissolubly united to the monarchy of the Franks, and the power of the Visigoths in Gaul might, from that period, be considered as extinguished, although they still retained their possessions to the south of the Garonne.

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\* This treaty was concluded A. D. 509, Henault *Abregé Chronologique*, vol. 1. ad An. The *Presid. Hen.* however, is extremely obscure on the subject: He says that Clovis had conquered the country to the Pyrenees, and does not ascertain the boundaries fixed by the treaty.

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### CHAP. III.

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The Goths transfer the seat of their government from France into Spain.—Reign of Amalaric.—Reign of Thendes.—The Franks invade Gaul and plunder Saragossa.—Obliged to purchase their retreat, restoring a great part of their spoils.—Reign of Theodigild.—Civil war among the Goths.—Athanagilde, by the aid of the Emperor Justinian, obtains the crown.—Makes Toledo the capital of Spain.—Cedes to the Emperor Justinian several of the maritime cities.—Peculiar consequences of that measure.—Reign of Leovigild.—Encroachments of the Eastern Emperor.—Leovigild expels the troops of Constantinople from Cordova and Medina Sidonia.—Subdues the Cantabrians, the remains of the Suevi, and the freebooters of the Sierra Morena.—Intrigues of his court.—Revolt of Hermenegild.—He is sent prisoner to Toledo.—Leovigild subdues the Vascones, and founds the city of Vittoria.—The Vascones emigrate into France, where they yet subsist under the name of Gascons.—Hermenegild escapes from prison and again flies to arms.—Is taken prisoner and put to death by his father.—Entire subjugation of the Suevi.—Death and character of Leovigild.—Reign of Recared.—Abolition of Arianism, and the establishment of the Catholic faith in Spain.—Recared repels an invasion of the Franks.—Regulates the Spanish church.—Death and character of Recared.—Reign of Lulva.—Reign of Witric.—His assassination.—Reign of Gondemar.—Reign of Sifibut.—Expels the Greeks from the coasts of the Mediterranean.—His cruel persecution of the Jews.—His conquest of Ceuta and Tangier.—Death and character of Sifibut.—Short reign of Recared II.—Reign of Suintilla.—Complete expulsion of the Constantinopolitan Greeks from Spain.—The whole peninsula of Spain and Portugal united under the Gothic sceptre.—Suintilla becomes tyrannical, is abandoned by his subjects, and deposed by Sisenand.—Reign and death of Sisenand.—Reign of Chintilla.—Reign of

Tulga.—Reign of Chindifuintho.—His character and death.—Reign of Recifuintho.—His character and death.—Reign of Wamba.—Wamba represses different revolts.—Defeats the Arabians at sea.—Is dethroned.—Remarkable instance of the power of custom and prejudice.—Reign of Erviga.—Reign of Egiza.—Revival of the Gothic laws.—Conspiracy of the Jews.—Attempt of the Arabians to invade Spain.—Frustrated by the total defeat of their fleet.—Reign of Witiza.—His tyranny.—Deposed by Roderic.—Accession of Roderic.

THE Visigoths having lost their capital cities of Thoulouse and Bourdeaux, with the best part of their possessions in Gaul, transferred the seat of their monarchy into Spain, which had remained in peaceable subjection to their dominion. They carried their infant King, Amalaric, across the Pyrenees; but the commencement of his reign was disturbed by his bastard brother, Gesalaic, who asserted his claims to the throne. This pretender, however, perished in the contest, and left Amalaric without a rival. During his minority the affairs of the kingdom were ably conducted by Thendes, to whose hands the nation had committed the regency. But soon after Amalaric had assumed the reins of government, he perished in a war against the sons of Clovis, who had invaded his remaining dominions in Gaul. Whether he fell in battle or was assassinated by his subjects, history has not ascertained; but whatever was the manner of his death, it closed the line of the first race of the

Kings of the Visigoths, and their monarchy, which had hitherto been hereditary, must, from this period, be considered as elective.

A. D. 531. The illustrious qualities of Thendes had been conspicuous during his regency; and the unanimous suffrages of the people proclaimed him their sovereign. But his wisdom and firmness were unable to resist the superior fortunes of the sons of Clovis, who having pursued their victorious career from the Garonne to the Pyrenees, forced the passes of the mountains, and entering Spain, penetrated as far as Saragossa. Having plundered that city, the invaders, loaded with spoil, slowly pointed their march towards Gaul. But Thendes having collected his forces hung upon their rear, and by reiterated attacks embarrassed their retreat; so that it was only by the sacrifice of a great part of their plunder that the Franks were permitted to re-pass the Pyrenees. Thendes, however, was less fortunate in his next enterprize. The Vandalic kingdom of Africa had been recently conquered by Bellisarius, the celebrated general of the Emperor Justinian; and the town of Ceuta, which the Visigoths possessed on the African coast, was involved in the conquest. Thendes made formidable preparations for the recovery of this

important place, and conducted the expedition in person. But he failed in the attempt, and was driven from before its walls with great loss. He did not long survive this disaster, being soon after stabbed in his palace by the hand of an assassin.

The suffrages of the nation raised to the throne Theodigild, one of their most distinguished chiefs. He had signalized his valour against the Franks; but the fame of the warrior was obscured by the lust of the tyrant. The wives and the daughters of his most illustrious subjects were the victims of his unbridled licentiousness; and after he had abused the regal authority for the space of a year and five months, a band of conspirators put an end to his reign and his life.

The appointment of his successor excited a civil war in the nation. Agila, whom the conspirators had placed on the throne, was rejected by a considerable part of the nation, and Athanagilde, one of the Gothic nobles, turned to his own advantage the rising disaffection. Supported by the troops of the Emperor Justinian, he wrested the sceptre from the hand of Agila, who, being defeated in battle, took refuge in the city of Merida. The vanquished monarch experienced the common fate of Princes in his situation. The citizens secured to themselves

the favour of Athanagilde by presenting to him the head of his rival.

Athanagilde fixed his royal residence in the city of Toledo, which, from this period, was regarded as the capital of Spain; and endeavoured, by an equitable and mild administration, to conciliate the affections of his subjects. But, in the contest for the throne, he had adopted a measure highly injurious to the interests of his kingdom, and subversive of the tranquillity of his reign. In return for the support afforded him by Justinian he had been obliged to cede to that monarch several of the maritime cities of Spain; and from these fortresses the Romans oppressed the adjacent districts. This occasioned a war, which the Gothic King carried on with great vigour and ability, and wrested from the Romans some of these fortresses; but others were rendered impregnable by constant supplies from Africa.

Athanagilde died without male issue, and five months of anarchy caused Spain to regret his mild and steady administration. At length the choice of the nation was determined in favour of Luiva, who was governor of the remaining territories of the Visigoths in Gaul. His brother, Leovigild, was, at his request, associated with him in the government. Luiva continued to watch over the safety of the Gallic provinces, and left the

administration of Spain to Leovigild, who, on the death of his brother, succeeded to the undivided sovereignty.

During the period of interregnum and anarchy, the Romans, of the eastern empire, having seized the favourable moment of enterprise, had advanced from their fortresses on the shores into the interior country; and their banners were displayed on the walls of Cordova and Medina Sidonia. Leovigild was no sooner established in the regal dignity than he laid siege to these cities, and reduced them after an obstinate resistance. Their surrender was followed by the submission of several other cities; from which the imperial garrisons were expelled, and the Romans, or more properly the Greeks of Constantinople, were again confined to their maritime stations. The descendants of the Cantabrians, in the mountains of Asturia and Biscay, as well as the remains of the Suevi, and a hardy race of freebooters in the Sierra Morena, who lived in a state of barbarous independence, were, by the persevering courage of Leovigild, subdued, and brought to adopt a civilized mode of life.

But this monarch, so great in war and politics, appears to have been the wretched slave of religious bigotry and female intrigue. In order to strengthen his authority and influence, he had married Goisvintha, the widow of Athanagilde.

But, by a former marriage, he had two sons, Hermenegild and Recared, who, in order to prevent that anarchy which Spain had so lately experienced, had, by the influence of the monarch, and the voice of the nation, been nominated to the succession. His eldest son, Hermenegild, had espoused a Catholic Princess, the daughter of Sigebert, King of Austrasia and the celebrated Brunchaut, and consequently the granddaughter of Goisvintha. The beautiful Ingundis was no more than sixteen years of age : her person was the object of universal admiration ; but her faith exposed her to the persecution of the Arian court of Toledo. The Queen, her grandmother, was the most inveterate of her enemies ; and her furious zeal so completely stifled the dictates of nature, that, on the refusal of Ingundis to abjure her faith in the Trinity, she dashed her against the ground, kicked her violently, and ordered her to be thrown into a fish-pond. Love and honour obliged Hermenegild to listen to the complaints of Ingundis. Her beauty and innocence soon persuaded him that she suffered in the cause of truth ; and the head of the Gothic monarchy was converted to the faith of his orthodox bride. Whether driven to extremities by resentment of the injurious treatment of his spouse, or by the apprehension of further persecution, Hermenegild immediately

took arms against his father and sovereign. The remonstrances of his brother Recared induced him to make his submission; but instead of receiving the pardon which he probably expected, he was sent as a prisoner to Toledo. The orthodox nation of the Vascones, who inhabited the modern Province of Navarre, had supported his rebellion, and Leovigild entered their country in arms. In this expedition he founded the city of Vittoria\* as a memorial of his success. But though he recovered their country he lost almost all its inhabitants, who, refusing to submit to the government of a persecutor, passed the Pyrenees and possessed themselves of a part of Aquitain, where their posterity still subsist under the name of Gascons. This was the second instance of that religious intolerance which has produced such incalculable calamities to Spain.

Hermenegild, in the mean while, escaped from the prison of Toledo, and having regained his liberty, had no hope of maintaining it but by the sword. The Catholics of Spain were numerous and they zealously espoused his cause. The cities of Merida, Cordova, and Seville, strenuously attached themselves to his party; and the Suevi and the Franks, being professors of the orthodox faith, were called to his assistance.

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\* Or Vittoria.

But the formidable confederacy was broken by the activity and vigour of Leovigild. The rebellious cities were successively reduced. Imprudence, or imperious necessity, had induced Hermenegild to shut himself up in Cordova; and, on the surrender of that city, he became the captive of an exasperated father. Being carried in chains to Terragona, it is said, that from his prison, he kept up a traitorous correspondence with the court of Constantinople, and that the Archbishop of Seville was employed as his ambassador to the Emperor of the East. But, as we do not find that the prelate was punished, and as it is said that Hermenegild refused to purchase life and freedom by conforming to Arianism, it appears that he fell a victim to the bigotry of an intriguing and intolerant court. The holy fears of Leovigild for the spiritual welfare of his people, were probably increased by the malice and address of Goisvintha; and the Arian monarch ordered the execution of his Catholic son and presumptive successor, in order to prevent the future establishment of the Trinitarian faith in Spain.

The Suevi of Spain, in the mountains of Galicia, had hitherto been governed by their own Princes under the paramount supremacy of the King of the Visigoths. But Leovigild, exasperated by their support of his son's rebellion, invaded their fastnesses, and having confined

Abaca, the last of their native Princes, to a monastery, reduced them under his own absolute dominion. This expedition closed the military labours of Leovigild. The remainder of his reign was employed in revising the Gothic code, and promulgating laws adapted to the genius and temper of his people. Leovigild endeavoured to impose on the imaginations of his subjects by ostentatious parade, and was the first of the Visigothic monarchs that was distinguished by the magnificence of his robes. But his private life was simple and frugal; and his invariable temperance was the source of his vigour in declining age. A modern historian has depicted the character of Leovigild in imposing colours, and has sneeringly observed that the zeal of the orthodox clergy transformed the stubborn rebel and disobedient son into a martyr and a saint: he ought also to have remembered, that impartial history represents the father as a stern tyrant and a superstitious bigot.\*

After a successful reign of eighteen years Leovigild expired in the palace of Toledo, and, according to the original designation, Recared, his favourite son, ascended the throne. The structure of Arianism, which the deceased

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\* Gibbon calls Hermenegild an ungrateful rebel. Dec. Rom. Emp. vol. 5. cap. 27. p. 296.

monarch had laboured to cement by the blood of his son, Hermenegild, was overthrown by his successor; and soon after the death of Leovigild, the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity became the established religion of Spain.

During the life of his father, Recared had, in silence, concealed the orthodox faith which he had imbibed. On his accession to the throne, he pretended that the dying monarch had abjured Arianism, and recommended to his son the conversion of his subjects. Having convened an assembly of the nobles and clergy, he represented to them that the Visigoths were the only nation of Christians that rejected the Nicene Creed. It has already been observed, that the Catholics of Spain were numerous and formidable, and the arguments of the King were probably supported by a Catholic army. The Arian clergy, however, appeared convinced, and the assembly decreed the establishment of the Trinitarian faith.

The Catholic religion was now triumphant in Spain; but the Arians, who were still a numerous party, were disgusted at the proscription of their faith, and the fall of their power. Their insurrections and repeated conspiracies, however, were defeated by the vigour and policy of Recared. Instead of retaliating on Goisvintha the wrongs of his injured brother, the generosity

of the young monarch respected the widow of his two predecessors, and loaded her with favours. But the heart of the Gothic Queen was incapable of gratitude; and she fell a victim to her own treasonable designs. On the detection of a conspiracy which she had formed against the life of her son-in-law and sovereign, rage or despair extinguished the feeble remains of her life, and proved, perhaps, a more terrible punishment than could have been inflicted by the hand of the executioner.

Foreign war, as well as domestic treason, required the attention of Recared. The Franks, with an army of sixty thousand men, had invaded his dominions in Gaul; but they were attacked and suddenly defeated by the Visigoths. A peace was concluded, and the Gothic monarch returning into Spain, directed his whole attention to the establishment and regulation of the Catholic church. While the laurels of victory still dazzled the eyes of his subjects, he summoned a council of the Spanish Bishops, with the most holy or most opulent of their Abbots. The five Metropolitans of Toledo, Seville, Tarragona, Merida, and Braga, presided according to their respective seniority; and the stability of the Catholic church was secured by new canons and decrees. From the care of religion, Recared was again called to the toils of war. The Em-

peror of the East, who still possessed many of the maritime stations, endeavoured to excite the Spaniards to revolt, and these intrigues provoking the resentment of the Gothic monarch, occasioned a war, which, however, produced no events of importance. Recared also repelled an invasion of the Vascones, who attempted to regain, by their swords, their former possessions in Spain. The detection of another conspiracy, the third, by which he had been menaced, and the punishment of the conspirators closed his administration. Recared died, at Toledo, after a tempestuous reign of twenty-five years, in which his wisdom, firmness, courage, and lenity, had been eminently displayed.

Luiva, his son, was, by the choice of the nation, appointed his successor; but neither the virtues nor the vices of the new monarch could be unfolded before he perished by a conspiracy, of which history has not recorded the particulars. Witeric, the principal conspirator, usurped the throne; but he enjoyed, only a short time, the fruit of his guilt. Being suspected of an intention of restoring Arianism, he was suddenly attacked and assassinated in his palace, and his mangled body was exposed to the insults of the populace. Gondemar, the most distinguished agent in the punishment of Witeric, was, by the suffrages of the nation, raised to the throne.

But while his youth and abilities promised a long and prosperous reign, he was carried off by sickness in the second year after his elevation to royalty.

The unanimous suffrages of the Goths placed the sceptre in the hands of Sifibut ; and his martial abilities sanctioned their choice. He had no sooner ascended the throne than he attempted to expel the Greeks, of Constantinople, from Spain, and undertook the expedition in person. Their forces were routed and almost annihilated in two decisive engagements ; and on viewing the carnage of the field, he is said to have uttered this impassioned exclamation, “ Unhappy man that I am to see so much blood spilt through my means.”

Historians have recorded the speech to his glory ; but it is easy to affect an ostentatious display of generous compassion which costs nothing but words, or it might be the expression of temporary feeling which every warrior must occasionally experience. We cannot, however, refuse the tribute of praise to his martial achievements, which were highly beneficial to his country. The throne of Constantinople was, at this time, shaken by the formidable attacks of the Persians and the Avars ; and the Emperor Heraclius, was incapable of affording any succours to his fortresses in Spain. In this situa-

tion he was happy to conclude a treaty, by which he relinquished all his cities and forts on the coast of the Mediterranean.

The brilliant qualities of Sifibut were tarnished by religious bigotry, and his cruelty to the Jews forms a disgusting contrast to his boasted expression of pity and regret over his slaughtered enemies. That people, if we may credit their assertions, had been first introduced into Spain by the fleets of Solomon, and their numbers increased by new colonies which fled from the arms of Nebuchadnezzar or the tyranny of his successors. Whatever was the time or the cause of their first introduction into that country, it is certain that they had been greatly multiplied by the policy of the Emperor Hadrian, who, in consequence of their revolt, is said to have transported forty thousand families of the tribe of Judah, and ten thousand of the tribe of Benjamin, into the peninsula. The Catholics had experienced the rigours of Arian persecution; but in their prosperity they no longer remembered the days of adversity. They adopted that intolerant spirit of which they had so long and so bitterly complained. The excessive zeal of the Gothic King prompted him to undertake the conversion of the Jews; and he shewed himself a severe apostle. In order to procure the salvation of their souls, he subjected

their bodies to torture, and their goods to confiscation. Above ninety thousand of those unhappy people, to preserve their wealth and their lives, consented to receive the sacrament of baptism, and to comply with the externals of a religion which they disbelieved and detested.

The last of the military expeditions of Sifibut extended his dominion beyond the natural limits of his kingdom, by the conquest of Ceuta and Tangier, on the African coast. He died soon after his return to Spain. His intolerant spirit, in matters of religion, is the only stain that history can fix on his character; and his martial  
621. renown secured to his son, Recared II. the succession to the throne.

The death of Recared, soon after his accession, summoned the national council to the election of a new King. The memory of Racared I. was still revered by the Goths; and their grateful suffrages raised his second son, Suintilla, to the throne. He had already distinguished his valour in the field, and the activity and vigour which he displayed during the first years of his reign, promised to realize the hopes of the nation. He repelled a formidable irruption of the Gascons, who had penetrated to the Ebro, and obliged them to purchase a safe retreat by the restoration of their plunder. But the most memorable event of his reign was the

complete expulsion of the Constantinopolitan Greeks from Spain. The victories of Sifibut had obliged them to abandon the coasts of the Mediterranean, and confined their possessions within the narrow limits of the modern Province of Algarve. During the space of seventy years, which had elapsed since the accession of Athanagilde, by means of the arms of Justinian, the Goths had been insulted by the imperial banners waving on their coasts. Suintilla aspired to the glory of completely eradicating this thorn from the bosom of the monarchy; and the rash precipitancy of the Greeks facilitated the success of his enterprize. Prudence might have suggested the propriety of waiting the attack in their fortifications; but their confidence of victory induced them to quit their impregnable stations, and engage the superior numbers of the Goths in the field. A bloody defeat was the consequence of their rashness, and Suintilla, without loss of time, improved the advantage. Most of the Byzantine fortresses were surpris'd or oblig'd to surrender: a treaty was concluded, by which the imperial garrisons evacuated the coasts of Spain; and the whole peninsula was, for the first time, united under the sceptre of the Gothic monarchy.

Such were the military successes of Suintilla. but prosperity seems to have corrupted his

principles of government ; and from the protector, he degenerated into the tyrant of his people. The general discontent excited the patriotism or the ambition of Sifenand, governor of the Gothic territories in Gaul, to erect the standard of revolt, and his liberal promises procured him the aid of Dagobert, King of France. Supported by this powerful alliance, he crossed the Pyrenees with a numerous army of Goths and Franks. Suintilla being abandoned by his troops, Sifenand advanced, without opposition, to Toledo, where he was solemnly invested with the regal title and authority ; but the life of the deposed monarch was respected, although a national council afterwards declared his posterity for ever incapable of ascending the Gothic throne.

The death of Sifenand, after a reign of ten years, summoned the Gothic Peers to a new election ; and the sceptre was committed to the hand of Chintilla, whose reign, of six years, is only marked by his rigorous edict against the Jews. His administration, however, seems to have been approved by the Goths, whose suffrages placed his son, Tulga, on the throne. But a confederacy of some of the principal nobles hurled him from his high elevation. The sceptre was transferred to the hand of Chindisuintho, and the deposed monarch was confined to the walls of a monastery.

But it was not till he had asserted his claim by arms, that the new King could establish his authority. The party which opposed his election was crushed : his title was recognized in a national council, and his son, Recisuintho, was received as his associate and successor. The character of Chindisuintho appears to have been pacific and lenient ; and after a prosperous reign of eleven years, his death was lamented by all classes of his subjects. The undivided sovereignty devolved on Recisuintho, and during his reign of twenty-four years, Spain was happy under his administration.

The death of Recisuintho summoned the Gothic clergy and nobles to the difficult task of choosing a successor, who might imitate his virtues, and follow his example. The suffrages of the assembly were united in favour of Wamba, whose superior talents were universally acknowledged : but whose solid judgment led him to prefer the ease and quiet of private life to the cares and toils of sovereignty. He long resisted the general wish ; and his subsequent conduct attests the sincerity of his reluctance to accept what others are so eager to obtain. But the estimate which he made of the value of a crown shewed that he was worthy of wearing it. The Gothic Peers earnestly requested his compliance, and at length he yielded to their solicitations, re-

minding them that he gratified their desire rather than his own inclination. Indeed he was no sooner invested with royalty than he experienced its concomitant troubles. The trumpet of war called him to suppress two different revolts in Asturia and in the Gothic territory in Gaul. Against the Asturians he marched in person, and soon reduced them to obedience. But the rebellion in Gaul was of a more formidable nature. Paul, a skilful and veteran general, was sent into the Gallic provinces, while the King was employed in Asturia ; but he had no sooner crossed the Pyrenees than he erected the standard of revolt, and usurped the independent sovereignty of the country which he went to reduce to the obedience of the Gothic monarch. The turbulent spirit of the Catalonians prompted them to engage in the revolt ; and the usurper was supported by the powerful alliance of the Franks.

Wamba having received intelligence of the perfidy of his general, suddenly marched from the frontiers of Navarre, traversed Arragon, entered Catalonia, and made himself master of Barcelona. He then forced the passes of the Pyrenees, and laid siege to the city of Narbonne, which surrendered after a vigorous defence. But the most determined resistance was made by the city of Nismes, in which the usurper had

fixed his residence. The walls, however, were scaled, and the royal banners displayed in the streets. The most desperate and daring of the rebels retired to the ruins of the ancient amphitheatre, and within the mouldering walls of that massy pile defended themselves with great courage, but at length were obliged to submit to the conqueror. The usurper Paul, and his principal adherents were, after a legal trial, condemned to death ; but the clemency of the Gothic King permitted them to implore the forgiveness of heaven during the remainder of their days in a monastery.

After suppressing this formidable rebellion, Wamba re-passed the Pyrenees, and entered Toledo in triumph. Having established his reputation as a warrior, he directed his attention to the business of a legislator, and his salutary regulations in the church as well as the state attest the prudence of his administration. But from the affairs of peace his attention was again called to those of war. In the space of less than a century, the followers of Mahomet, from the distant region of Arabia, had penetrated to the Atlantic, and subdued the northern countries of Africa. From the ports of that continent their piratical squadrons insulted or menaced the coasts of Spain. In order to protect the repose of his kingdom, the Gothic monarch equipped a

numerous fleet of the small vessels then in use. The Visigoths became gradually accustomed to this new theatre of action, and from a variety of desultory conflicts, returned home crowned with victory, and laden with spoil. At length a decisive engagement took place between the fleets of the Saracens and the Goths. On the side of the latter the victory was complete and glorious, not less than two hundred and seventy of the Arabian vessels being brought in triumph into the ports of Spain.

The reign of Wamba had been distinguished by great and illustrious actions; and his administration had been marked by wisdom and justice. Yet amidst the affection of his subjects, and the admiration of foreigners, that monarch was deprived of the crown which his virtues had adorned. Among the Goths and the Franks, the head that had once been shaven, was, by that operation, rendered for ever incapable of wearing a crown, as among the sons of Aaron the least mutilation or corporeal blemish involved a perpetual exclusion from the Israelitish priesthood. The fate of Wamba, as related by historians, is a remarkable instance of the power of customs and prejudices, and still more of resignation and forgiveness. A strong opiate was administered to him, and while he laboured under its stupifying effects, the opportunity for

treason was seized by Erviga, a nobleman, who boasted his descent from Athanagilde : his long hair, the symbol of his dignity, was cut off by the daring hand of the traitor ; his head was shaved ; and Wamba, no longer a King, awoke to a sense of his misfortune. But he dissembled his surprise, assumed the language of voluntary retirement, and stifled the emotions of revenge to preserve the tranquillity of his country. It is even asserted that he recommended as his successor the traitor who defrauded him of his crown. The story is related, with hesitation, by an eloquent modern historian : it appears, indeed, too romantic to be credible. When we consider the reluctance with which Wamba accepted the sovereignty, it would rather seem that his resignation was voluntary, that to prevent the loyal opposition of his subjects, the matter had been privately concerted with Erviga, and that the fanciful writers of the age had given to the story its extravagant cast. It is certain that Wamba cheerfully retired to the walls of a monastery ; and in that peaceful seclusion, the latter part of his life, though less splendid, was undoubtedly more happy than that which he had spent amidst the agitations of the world and the cares of royalty.

The recommendations of Wamba raised Erviga to the throne by uniting the suffrages of the

national council in his favour. Whatever were the means by which the new sovereign obtained the kingdom, he governed it with wisdom and equity. Either his remorse, his fears, or his gratitude, induced him to neglect the pretensions of his own sons; and with the hand of his daughter, Cixilona, he called Egiza, the nephew and heir of Wamba, to the succession. After a peaceful and prosperous reign of eight years, he resigned the sceptre to Egiza, and exchanged the robes of royalty for the habit of penitence. Having shaved his head, he assumed the garb of a monk, and expired in peace a short time after his resignation.

The reign of Egiza is distinguished by a general revival of the laws which had been compiled by a long succession of Gothic Kings. Till this period the Visigoths had been governed by their own institutions, and had indulged their conquered subjects in Gaul and Spain, with the use of the Roman law. But their gradual improvement in civilization and policy induced them to compose a code of civil and criminal jurisprudence, communicating the same obligations and privileges to all the nations of the Spanish monarchy, who were then become a great and united people; and from that period all the inhabitants of the peninsula, whether of aboriginal, Roman, or Gothic extraction, may be

comprised under the general appellation of Spaniards.

The peaceful task of legislation did not occupy the whole reign of Egiza. Secret conspiracy menaced the nation, and the trumpet of war called the Spaniards to arms. Since the days of Sifibut the Jews had been exposed to the most horrible persecutions, and Chintilla had issued an edict commanding their total expulsion. That decree, however, had been eluded through the connivance of the governors of provinces and the lenity of later monarchs. Many of those wretched people, indeed, had passed over to Africa; but the powerful attraction of local attachment had induced great numbers to remain in Spain, under the weight of civil and ecclesiastical laws. They were still permitted to pursue the different branches of commerce; but without legal protection their wealth and even their lives were exposed to the rapacity and caprice of their rulers. Persecution naturally produced a thirst of revenge. The Jews having lost the use and almost the remembrance of arms, were of themselves unable to resist oppression; but they exulted in the victories of the Arabians, and solicited the Mahometans to deliver them from the tyranny of Christians. For this purpose they kept up a secret correspondence with their brethren, who had sheltered themselves

from persecution in Africa. Through their medium they persuaded the Arabian conquerors of Africa to attempt the invasion of Spain, and being assured of effectual succours, resolved to erect the standard of revolt ; but the execution of their design was prevented by a timely discovery. At this period the Christian Kings and Bishops of Spain might have learned that religious intolerance produces political convulsions ; but instead of relaxing they increased the rigours of persecution. The laws against the Jews were revived : the public exercise of their religion was prohibited under the severest penalties ; and all their children, under seven years of age, were ordered to be taken from them and educated in the christian faith.

The discovery of the Jewish conspiracy might, for a moment, disconcert the plans of the Mahometans ; but it did not deter them from aspiring to the conquest of Spain. Their numerous squadrons again appeared on the coasts of Andalusia, and again received a total defeat, which, for the second time, humbled their pride and dispelled the apprehension of the Spaniards. This discomfiture of the Saracen navy was one of the most brilliant transactions of the reign of Egiza. A short war with the Franks and Gascons produced no important result. But that monarch made use of a moment of

tranquillity to assure the succession to his son. In the national council at Toledo, Witiza was associated with his father in the regal dignity; and the death of Egiza happening soon after, the undivided sovereignty devolved into his hands.

The commencement of the reign of Witiza was marked with wisdom and lenity; but his administration soon degenerated into licentiousness and tyranny. The general detestation of his memory has induced the historians of the times to exaggerate his vices beyond the bounds of truth or probability; but they were undoubtedly glaring and numerous. Among other noble sufferers, under the jealousy and resentment of the tyrant, was Theodofrid, a kinsman of Recisuintho, who had swayed the sceptre with applause, and whose memory was revered. This illustrious nobleman was deprived of sight, and immured in a prison at Cordova. His son, Roderic, undertook to revenge his father's wrongs and the sufferings of his country: he erected the standard of revolt, and thousands, who had either felt or dreaded the cruelty of the tyrant, joined him with alacrity. A civil war ensued which terminated in the deposition of Witiza, and the elevation of Roderic to the throne of Spain.

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## CHAP. IV.

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View of the constitution and state of society in Spain under the dominion of the Visigoths.—Character of Roderic.—History of Count Julian investigated.—Invasion of Spain by the Arabians under Tarik.—Degeneracy of the Goths.—Defeat and death of Roderic.—Treason of Oppas, Archbishop of Seville.—Astonishing progress of the Mahomedans.—Capitulation of Toledo.—Of Murcia.—Capture of Medina Coeli.—Seizure of the Emerald table.—Arrival of Musa in Spain.—Dissentions between that commander and Tarik.—Reduction of Seville and Merida.—Vast designs of Musa.—His triumphal march from Ceuta to Damascus.—His disgrace.—His son, Abdalaziz, aspires to the sovereignty of Spain.—Is assassinated.—His head sent to the Caliph and presented to Musa, who retires to Mecca and dies broken hearted.—Character of Musa and Tarik.—Fate of Count Julian.—Retreat of Pelagius with a band of martial Spaniards to the mountains of Asturia.—The Arabian Viceroy of Spain leads an army across the Pyrenees.—Alhama, his lieutenant, defeated and slain by Pelagius.—Death of the traitor Oppas.—Abdoulrahman, Viceroy of Spain, invades France, and is defeated by Charles Martel.—Reflections on that subject.—Death of Pelagius.—Extent of his dominions.—Reign of his son Flavilla.—His death.—Influx of the Arabians into Spain.—Their numerous colonies.—Revolution in the Caliphate.—The throne of Damascus transferred from the family of Ommijah to that of Abbas.—Abdalrahman, of the House of Ommijah, escapes from the general massacre of his family, and establishes an independent Caliphate in Spain.

HAVING traced the history of Spain from the time that the Carthaginians first entered the

country to the accession of the last monarch of the Visigoths, and described the state of the peninsula under the Roman dominion, it is requisite to exhibit a sketch of that political structure which was overthrown by the Arabian conquerors, who annexed one of the largest kingdoms of Europe to the religion and throne of the Caliphs.

It has already been observed that the monarchy of the Visigoths, which at first was hereditary in the family of Alaric and Adolphus, became elective on the extinction of that dynasty. The vacancy of the throne was always supplied by the suffrages of the national council, consisting of the prelates and nobles; and the regal dignity was limited to the pure and noble blood of the Goths. The influence of the clergy contributed to the support of regal government. Spiritual censures, as well as temporal penalties, were denounced against those impious subjects who should presume to resist his authority, conspire against the life of the sovereign, or violate, by an unlawful union, the chastity of his widow. But the monarch himself, when he ascended the throne, was bound, by a reciprocal oath, to God and his people, that he would rule with moderation and equity. The history of the Visigoths, however, as well as that of several other nations, shews that neither the Kings nor

the subjects constantly adhered to these mutual obligations. The regal authority was subject to the control of a powerful aristocracy; and the Bishops and Nobles were guarded by a fundamental law of the nation, which provided that they should not suffer degradation or punishment, unless by the free and public judgment of their Peers. The affairs of the church were regulated in the national councils. While questions of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline were agitated, the laity were excluded; but as soon as the debates were ended, the doors were thrown open for the entrance of the great officers of the palace and the nobles, who ratified the decrees of the Bishops and Abbots.

It is impossible, at this distance of time, to discover the state of the great mass of the people under the first Kings of the Visigoths. While their conquest was unstable, and the conquerors only half civilized, it is probable that the lower orders were in a situation little better than slavery; but the code of Egiza united all the people of Spain under one system of jurisprudence, and admitted the conquered to a participation of freedom with the conqueror. This code of laws has been ridiculed by Montesquieu with excessive severity.\* It is no wonder that it should

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\* Montesqu. *Esprit des Lois* Liv. 28. cap. 1.

have been tinged with the superstition of the age ; but it possessed the merit of impartial policy and moderation. While it preserved to the nobles all their honourable privileges, it ameliorated the condition of the people ; and while in the other countries of Europe, the conquered had sunk into the abject slaves of the conquerors, the Spaniard was permitted to redeem his freedom, and often his property, by the payment of a small fine or annual rent. In Spain, as well as in the other European countries, the feudal system prevailed ; but as a judicious historian observes, the harshness of its features were softened by policy or humanity.

Such was the state of Spain when her throne was about to be overturned by a tremendous revolution, and her extensive territory subdued by a race of conquerors, from the effects of whose arms the rest of Europe happily escaped. Roderic had received the sceptre under the most promising auspices, and the memory of Recisvintho united the nation in his favour ; but his elevation to royalty proved equally fatal to himself and his kingdom. The misfortunes of Witiza might have warned him of the danger of imitating his example ; but he forgot the salutary lesson. Roderic was not deficient either in courage or genius ; but those brilliant qualities were obscured by vices of the deepest dye.

An eminent historian affixes to his character the epithets of cruel, vindictive, and voluptuous in the highest degree. His oppression of the sons of Witiza, perhaps not unprovoked, compelled them to seek an asylum in Africa, where they waited the opportunity of asserting their pretensions in arms. Their uncle, Oppas, Archbishop of Seville, entered into their views, and endeavoured to alienate the minds of the people from their sovereign, who, according to the current accounts of the Spanish historians, instead of extinguishing those first sparks of revolt, gave them an increased activity by the perpetration of a crime which occasioned his destruction, and the subversion of the empire of the Visigoths.

The popular tale of the forcible violation of Cava, the daughter of Count Julian, by the brutal licentiousness of Roderic, has been echoed by historians as the cause of her father's revolt, and of all the calamities which it brought upon Spain. The story, however, has, by some modern critics, been rejected as suspicious, and as destitute of sufficient evidence: it is preserved by Cardonne, who relates it in detail and without hesitation,\* but its authenticity is doubted

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\* Cardonne Hist. de L'Afrique et de L'Espagne, tom. 1. p. 64, &c.

by Gibbon,\* and ridiculed by Voltaire.† Whatever was the cause of Count Julian's revolt, its effects were tremendously fatal ; and his rash invitation of the Arabians produced the calamities of eight hundred succeeding years. His valour had defended Ceuta against the assaults of their numerous hosts ; and Musa, the leader of the faithful, and governor of Africa for the Chaliph Walid, must have been agreeably surpris'd by the proffered alliance of a chief, the prowess of whose arms he had felt, and by the surrender of a fortress which had baffled all his attacks. Musa solicited and obtained permission of the Caliph to annex the unknown countries of the West to the religion of Mahomet and the throne of Damascus. And while he was making preparations for the conquest of Spain, the conspirators flattered themselves that he would be contented with the glory and spoil, without aspiring to extend the Arabian empire beyond the limits of Africa.

The cautious Musa, in order to try the strength and fidelity of his Spanish adherents, and the foundation of his own hopes, detached a small force of a hundred Arabians and four hundred Africans. These precursors

A. D. 710.

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\* Gibbon Dec. Rom. Emp. vol. 9, p. 468.

† Voltaire Hist. Gen. cap. 26.

of the Mahommedan host having landed on the shores of Andalusia, advanced to the town and castle of Count Julian. Their favourable reception, the number of the Count's vassals who joined their standard, the richness of their spoil, and the safety of their return, were regarded as the most promising omens of future success. In the ensuing spring seven thousand veterans\* were embarked under the command of Tarik-ben Ziad-ben-Abdollah, a skilful and dauntless leader, whose achievements surpassed the expectations of his chief. The Arabians disembarked at the foot of Mount Calpe, which, from that event, acquired the name of Djebel, or Gibal Tarik, the mountain of Tarik, now changed by corruption of language into the modern appellation of Gibraltar; where the British banners have waved, more than a century, in defiance of the united efforts of France and Spain.

Immersed in voluptuousness and indolence, Roderic had paid little attention to the preparations that had been making in Africa; but the invasion of his kingdom roused him from his lethargy. He dispatched one of his kinsmen at the head of some select troops; but they scarcely

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\* Gibbon states the number at five thousand. *Hist. Dec. Rom. Emp.* vol. 9. p. 472. Cardonne at seven thousand. *Tom. 1. p. 71.*

sustained the first charge of the enemy, and their flight revealed to the monarch the magnitude of his danger. Spain, however, was capable of great and formidable efforts. The standard of the sovereign was unfurled, and, at the royal summons, the prelates and nobles of the kingdom appeared at the head of their vassals. The army of Roderic amounted to one hundred thousand men, and must have insured victory, had their discipline and fidelity corresponded with their numbers.\* But the ancient inhabitants of Spain had been long unaccustomed to arms, and the Goths were no longer those irresistible conquerors who had overthrown the Roman empire, and penetrated from the shores of the Exuine to those of the Atlantic. Their youth, enervated by peace and luxury, had abandoned the exercise of arms; and some of their most powerful chiefs, impelled by jealousy, resentment, or ambition, were disaffected to the reigning sovereign, and secretly sought his destruction.

Such was the state of Spain when the last of her Gothic monarchs was called to support the weakness of a disputed throne, by the feeble strength and doubtful affections of a degenerate

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\* Cardonne, tom. 1. p. 75. Gibbon says 90,000 or 100,000, vol. 2. cap. 5. p. 473.

people. The Arabians, however, had only five, or, at the most, seven thousand veterans\* and voluntary adventurers to bring into the field against the whole force of a powerful kingdom, and the numerous host that marched under Roderic appalled, for a moment, their courage. The promise of Paradise was cautiously weighed against the danger of the unequal contest; and the fanaticism of the faithful yielded to the dictates of prudence. Tarik employed all his judgment and care to avoid an engagement while he solicited reinforcements from Africa. In consequence of his application to Musa, his army of veteran Arabians was increased to twelve thousand, besides a promiscuous crowd of Africans greedy of tasting the temporal promises of the Koran, and to these was joined a numerous body of Christian malecontents, collected by Count Julian, and commanded by him in person.† The town of Xeres, about six miles from Cadiz, is rendered illustrious in history by the memorable encounter which decided the fate of Spain, and overturned the empire of the Goths, which

\* See Cardonne and Gibbon *ubi supra*.

† Count Julian was governor of Andalusia and Lord of several towns in Castile. He was the most wealthy and powerful nobleman in Spain. Cardonne, *Hist. de l'Espagne et de l'Afrique sous la domination des Arabes*, tom. 1. p. 68, 69. *Note marginale*. It is therefore no wonder that his influence brought such effectual succours to the invaders.

had subsisted almost three hundred years in that country.

During the space of three days the two armies were employed in various manœuvres and bloody skirmishes. On the fourth day the battle became general, and the issue proved decisive.\* At this momentous crisis the Gothic monarch seems to have lost the qualities which had raised him to the throne. "Alaric," as an eloquent historian observes, "would have blushed at the sight of his unworthy successor wearing on his head a diadem of pearls, encumbered with a flowing robe of gold and silken embroidery, and reclining on a car of ivory." This splendid but unwarlike equipment shows the luxury, the ostentation, and pageantry, of the court, and the degeneracy of the Goths. Roderic, however, reminded them that they fought for their religion, their families, and their liberty, while Tarik represented to the Moslems the necessity of victory and the impossibility of a retreat. "The enemy," said he, "is before you, the sea is behind: whither can you fly? Follow your general: I am resolved either to die or to trample on the prostrate King of the Visigoths." The battle was begun with equal ardour by the

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\* Gibbon's Dec. Rom. Emp. vol. 9. p. 473. Cardonne, tom. 1. p. 76. says the skirmishes continued seven days until the eighth decided the contest.

two hostile armies, and the issue long remained doubtful. But, at the critical moment on which victory was suspended, a horrible act of treason determined it on the side of the Mahommedans. That traitor to his religion and country, Oppas, Archbishop of Seville, whose name is a disgrace to his sacred character, went over with his vassals to the Mahommedans, and joined them in charging the Christians.\* The ranks of the Spaniards were instantly broken: each warrior was impelled by fear or suspicion to consult his own safety; and the greatest part of the army was destroyed or dispersed. Roderic perished amidst the general confusion; but the particulars of his fate could never be ascertained. His royal robe, magnificently embroidered with gold and garnished with pearls, his belt ornamented in the same manner, his horse also, and his saddle, richly adorned with gold and emeralds, were found on the banks of the Guadalquiver, then known by the name of the Beotis; but as his body could never be discovered it is probable that he perished in the waters of that river.

Tarik resolved to make no delay in reaping the fruits of so decisive a victory. He immediately marched to Ecija, a strong town which afforded a temporary refuge to the fugitive

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\* Gibbon, vol. 9. cap. 51. p. 474. Cardonne, tom. 1. p. 77.

Spaniards. The fortifications were stormed, and the garrison and inhabitants were involved in one promiscuous slaughter. Roderic was dead, and the injuries of Count Julian, whatever they might be, were avenged; but that nobleman had plunged so deep in guilt that his only hope was in the ruin of his country; and he urged Tarik to complete the conquest of Spain. The Arabian general willingly listened to a counsel so agreeable to his inclinations and so flattering to his hopes. One of his detachments surprised Cordova, and drove the governor, with four hundred men, into the great church, where they defended themselves more than three months, and surrendered their posts only with their lives.\* Another corps of Arabians reduced all the modern Province of Grenada, while Tarik, with the main body, marched in person against Toledo. That city, the capital of Spain, made no resistance, but obtained a honourable capitulation.† The inhabitants had the choice of departing with their effects, or of remaining under the government and protection of the Moslems, and enjoying the free and public exercise of their religion on the easy and equi-

\* Cardonne says that this church stood without the city. *Hist. d L'Espagne and d L'Afrique sous la dom. des Arabes*, tom. 1. p. 81.

† Gibbon, vol. 9. cap. 51. p. 476. Cardonne says that Toledo stood a long siege, tom. 1. p. 82.

table condition of paying the same tribute to the Caliph as to their former Kings. Seven churches were appropriated to the christian worship. The Archbishop and his clergy were allowed to exercise their functions, and the Spanish inhabitants were left, in all civil and criminal cases, to the subordinate jurisdiction of their own laws and magistrates. Murcia, and several other cities, surrendered on nearly the same conditions. Leon, and some other places, were reduced by famine. But among all the conquests of Tarik there was none that gave him more pleasure than that of Medina Celi. In this city was kept a table of emerald, valued at five hundred thousand crowns, having 360 feet of massy gold enriched with emeralds and pearls; and the Arabian general having seized this famous monument of Gothic magnificence, destined it for a present to the Caliph.\*

But the splendid part of the life of Tarik was drawing towards a conclusion, and the æra of his troubles and calamities was rapidly approaching. The Arabian leader had extended his conquests to the North, over the modern Provinces of Old Castile and Leon, and had scarcely returned to the royal seat of Toledo, when he was called to

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\* Carlonne's Hist. de L'Afrique and de L'Espagne sous la domination des Arabes, tome 1. p. 83, 84.

answer for his presumption in daring to conquer Spain in the absence of the chief commander of the faithful in the West. The rapidity of his success had excited the jealousy of Musa; and the Viceroy of Africa resolved, if possible, to wrest from the hand of Tarik the glory of his conquest. At the head of ten thousand Arabians and eight thousand Africans, Musa passed over into Spain, and, landing at Algeiras, was joined by Count Julian, who promised him his services. By the advice of this nobleman Musa undertook the reduction of Seville and Merida, cities of great opulence and strength, and defended by the bravest of the patriots. Seville was taken after a vigorous siege; and the Arabian chief, eager to efface, by his exploits, the glory of his lieutenant, immediately marched to Merida. The inhabitants of that city sustained, on this occasion, the honour of their descent from the veteran legions of Augustus. They marched out of the city and gave battle to the Arabians; but an ambuscade, rushing from a cavern or a quarry, threw the Spaniards into confusion.\* A great number were cut in pieces, but the rest regained the city and made a long and vigorous defence against the valour of the Arabians, who, from their wooden turrets, which were rolled

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\* Cardonne, tom. 1, p. 17.

upon wheels against the walls, made desperate and incessant attacks. The constancy of the besieged was at last subdued by famine ; but the clemency or policy of the victor granted them a capitulation which must at least have equalled their hopes. The wealth of those who had fallen in the siege was confiscated for the use of the faithful ; but the surviving inhabitants had the alternative of departing with their effects or of remaining under tribute. The public exercise of the christian worship was allowed, and the churches were divided between the followers of Christ and Mahommed. Musa then took possession of Saragossa and Barcelona, and pursued his victorious career to the foot of the Pyrenees, while his son, Abdalaziz, having subdued the Province of Valentia, reduced the insurgents in the south and again captured Seville.

The adventurous spirit of Tarik had first explored the way to these splendid conquests : yet Musa having summoned his lieutenant to an interview at Toledo, required from him a rigid account of the spoils. The character and conduct of Tarik were exposed to suspicion and obloquy ; and after being ignominiously scourged by the hand of Musa himself, and compelled to give up all the plunder acquired by his toils and his victories, he was loaded with irons, and committed to prison. But his complaints being

carried to the throne of Damascus, a peremptory order of the Caliph obliged Musa to liberate him from confinement.

Musa, in the mean while, traversed every part of Spain, and passing the Pyrenees, penetrated to Carcassonne. His enterprising mind had considered the possession of Spain as the first step to the monarchy of Europe, and conceived the adventurous and vast design of subduing France, Italy, Germany as far as the Danube, Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and the whole of the Byzantine empire, and thus joining the northern to the southern conquests of the Arabians. But this project, one of the greatest that ever was formed, was rendered abortive by his enemies at the court of Damascus. The other great generals and ministers who envied the glory which he had already acquired, and feared his further success, represented Musa as a man whose dangerous ambition had no bounds, and excited in the mind of the Caliph a jealousy of his power. The friends of Tarik had stated his services and his wrongs : the proceedings of Musa were blamed, and his intentions suspected. Being ordered to repair to Damascus to justify his conduct, he delayed his journey under different pretexts ; but a more peremptory summons enforced his compliance. A messenger of the Caliph entered his camp, and seizing the

bridle of his horse, in the presence both of the Moslems and the Christians, arrested him in the name of his master. The loyalty of his troops, rather perhaps than his own, inculcated the duty of obedience. He repaired immediately to Ceuta, and his long and triumphal march from that place to Damascus, displayed the spoils of Spain. Four hundred Gothic nobles, distinguished by golden coronets and girdles, and eighteen or as some say thirty thousand male and female captives, selected for their birth or their beauty, composed a part of his retinue.\* On his arrival at Damascus, he was confronted with Tarik, who had repaired for justice to the foot of the throne. Musa, in his dispatches, had represented the conquest of Spain as entirely his own achievement, and pretended that himself had seized the famous table of Emerald. His antagonist, after complaining of his own injurious treatment, accused Musa of cruelties to the conquered people, which, as he said, had rendered the name of the Moslems hateful to the universe. On the inquiry into the circumstances attending the conquest of Spain, Tarik quite disconcerted his rival. The subtle Arabian, suspecting the intentions of Musa, had, previous to his delivery of the Emerald table, broken off one of its feet,

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\* Cardanne says thirty thousand female captives. Tom. i. p. 98.

assuring his chief that it was found in that state. In order to demonstrate the falsehood of Musa's pretensions, he requested the Caliph to interrogate him concerning the foot that was wanting. Musa greatly embarrassed, was unable to answer, and Tarik producing the foot, completed his confusion. The result of the investigation was that Musa was, by the Caliph's order, stripped of the whole or at least of the greatest part of his wealth; and some say that his treatment of Tarik was retaliated by a public whipping. He was afterwards condemned to a decent exile under the name of a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Previous to his departure for Damascus, Musa had delegated to his son, Abdalaziz, the administration of Spain. But like his father he experienced the vicissitudes of fortune; and his fall was sudden and decisive. He had married Egilona, the widow of the late King Roderic; and that Princess is supposed to have first inspired him with a desire of independent sovereignty. The injurious treatment of his father might also concur with his own ambition to prompt the design of erecting his throne at Cordova. But the minds of the Moslems were not yet formed for projects of rebellion. They still revered in the Caliph the holy successor of Mahommed; and no sooner were the intentions of Abdalaziz known, than he was murdered by

his followers, and thus fell the victim of his aspiring ambition. The destruction of the son of Musa was not unacceptable to the court of Damascus. His head was sent to the Caliph, and, by a refinement of cruelty, presented to his unfortunate father with this insulting question: "Do you know those features?" "Yes," replied the disconsolate parent, "I know them, and I imprecate the same, a juster fate, on the authors of my son's death."\* Musa, already exhausted by age and grief, did not long survive this shock; he retired to Mecca where he soon died of a broken heart.

Such was the fate of this famous conqueror: the vastness of his genius, the extent of his views, his enterprising spirit, his intrepidity and valour, have rendered his name immortal. It is, however, to be lamented that his brilliant qualities were tarnished by his vices, and his victories, in some instances, obscured by his cruelties. The silence of the Arabian historians concerning the fate of Tarik, a man superior to Musa in virtue, and in abilities not his inferior, affords reason to believe that he passed the remainder of his life in peaceful obscurity. The Arabian writers are equally silent concerning the fate of Count Julian; but the Spanish

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\* Cardonne, tom. 1. p. 113

historian, Roderic de Toledo, asserts that the calamities which his ambition or resentment had brought upon his country recoiled on his own head, and that Alahor, governor of Spain after Abdalaziz, conceiving some suspicions of his fidelity, confiscated his vast estates, and either put him to death or caused him to linger out his days in a dungeon. That traitor to his religion and country, Oppas, Archbishop of Seville, also received the just recompense of his treason from the hand of his noble and virtuous kinsman Pelagius.

The facility with which the conquest of Spain was effected by a handful of Arabians, shews the unwarlike state of the country at that period, and the degeneracy of the once martial Goths. But all the Spaniards were not sunk in the effeminacy of the age. After the defeat of their armies, and the reduction of their cities, a band of hardy warriors retired to the mountains of Asturia, where the Cantabrians so long resisted the power of Rome, and where the last sparks of national independence have never been totally extinguished. Amidst those trackless retreats, in a life of poverty and freedom, they preserved, with patriotic affection, their ancient laws and customs: issuing from their fastnesses, they harrassed the neighbouring districts of the enemy, and in frequent and bloody encounters

with the fanatics of Arabia, they evinced their descent from those hardy warriors who resisted the power of Rome.

This last remnant of brave and independent Spaniards had chosen for their leader Pelagius, a Prince of the royal blood, not more distinguished by his noble birth than by his determined courage and acknowledged abilities; and six A.D. 717. years after the battle of Xeres he received the title of King in a general assembly of his followers. But the kingdom over which he was elected to reign was confined to a narrow territory, about twenty-five miles in length and twelve in breadth. His dominions, however, although so contracted in extent, had all the physical and moral advantages calculated to secure independence. The country was broken by frequent and craggy mountains, which rendered it almost inaccessible to invaders, and inhabited by men of determined courage, whose minds were animated by the love of freedom, and fortified by the contempt of death.

Alahor, the successor of Abdalaziz, the son of Musa, in the government of Spain, exercised the valour of the Arabians by leading them across the Pyrenees, and displaying the standard of the Prophet on the banks of the Garonne. Amidst the career of victory his ardour was checked by the intelligence which he received

of the bold and well planned enterprises of the dauntless mountaineers of Asturia. But previous to his retreat he ordered an army to be drawn from different garrisons, which being joined by a detachment from his forces in Gaul, marched under the conduct of Ibu-Habib-Ellahmi, or Alhama, his lieutenant, and Oppas, Archbishop of Seville, against Pelagius, in order to extinguish the last sparks of Spanish independence.

The numerous host of the invaders, having traversed, without opposition, the lofty and rugged mountain of Auseba, descended into the narrow valley beneath, which Pelagius, with a skilful eye, had marked for the theatre of his own glory and their destruction. Implicated among the defiles and crags of the mountains, and assaulted by an ambuscade of Christians, issuing from a cavern, the Moslems were totally defeated. When historians inform us that the field was strewed with a hundred thousand of their dead, we must smile at the exaggeration ; but when we consider the difficulty of the retreat, and the religious enthusiasm which combined with the spirit of revenge to sharpen the sword of the victors, we may readily suppose that the carnage was horrible. Alhama fell covered with wounds, and that traitor to his religion and country, Oppas, Archbishop of Seville, fell alive

into the hands of Pelagius, who condemned him to the punishment justly due to his crimes.\*

One disaster was not sufficient to efface from the minds of the Moslems a long series of victories and plunder; but successive defeats convinced them that nothing but blows were to be expected from the warlike Asturians. The martial followers of Pelagius rendered themselves masters of the strong town of Gijon; and the Moslems tacitly relinquished, for some time, the unprofitable contest. The rich and fertile Provinces of Gaul presented fairer prospects of plunder than the barren mountains of Asturia.

In the ninth year of the reign of the Caliph Accham, Abdoulrachman was appointed viceroy of Spain. He had been educated in camps amidst the clangor of war, and borne arms from his early youth. Ambitious of glory and conquests, he no sooner saw himself master of the forces of Spain, than he resolved to use them for the subjugation of France. Having defeated Munuz, an Arabian Lord, who had revolted against his authority, he led a numerous army across the Pyrenees, put to flight the troops of Eudes, Count of Aquitaine, took Bourdeaux,

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\* Cerdanne places this action under the Vicerealty of Abdalaziz, the son of Musa. Tom. I. p. 107, 110.

traversed Perigord, Saintonge, and Poitou, and advanced almost to the walls of Tours. But this was the fatal boundary of his progress. The whole force of the monarchy of France, united under the famous Charles Martel, advanced to the decisive contest with the desperadoes of Arabia. The banks of the Loire, between Tour and Poitiers, was the theatre of a conflict not less memorable for its consequences than for the

number and renown of the combatants. Abdoulrahman fell in the battle, and the Arabians were defeated with an almost incredible loss. When we are told by historians that three hundred and seventy-five thousand Mahomedans lay dead on the ensanguined field, we must believe the numbers to be greatly exaggerated.\* But the victory was undoubtedly complete, and perhaps saved Europe from the Mahomedan yoke. Another irruption of the Arabians into Provence exposed them to another defeat and expulsion; and from that period they confined their ambition to the southward of the Pyrenees.†

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\* Cardonne and Gibbon have copied this number from the Monkish historians. Cardonne *Hist. de L'Espagne, &c.* tom. 1. p. 127. Gibbon *Dec. Rom. Emp.* M. le Pref. Henault only says upwards of 300,000. *Abregé Chronologique de l'Hist. de France.* An. 732.

† The last irruption of the Saracens was in 736, and their expulsion in 739. *Hen. Abreg. Chron.*

These Gallic expeditions of the Saracens were highly advantageous to the independent Spaniards of Asturia, by affording them a short repose from war, which enabled them to establish order in their government. Nineteen years Pelagius reigned with glory and success over the kingdom which his valour had created, and at his death,

A. D. 735. which happened about three years after the bloody defeat of the Arabians by Charles Martel, he left the arduous sceptre to his son, Flavilla, with a territory of about a hundred miles in length, which acknowledged his authority.

The gratitude of the Christians of Asturia raised Flavilla to the throne of his father ; but his short reign of two years was not sufficient either to justify or condemn their choice. He perished by a fall from his horse in hunting ; and the suffrages of a free people called to the succession his brother-in-law, Alphonso the Catholic, whose surname was a tribute to his zeal for religion, and whose wisdom and valour gained him the esteem of his subjects. His good fortune corresponded with his merits, and the circumstances of the Arabians, during his reign, greatly contributed to strengthen and consolidate the rising monarchy of the Spaniards.

The patient and submissive spirit for which the followers of Mahommed were at first so con-

spicuous, had gradually evaporated ; and the Arabians of Spain were soon divided into several hereditary factions. Besides the original conquerors, of whom many were Africans, Abdelaziz, the son of Musa, had introduced great numbers of Moslems from Africa during his viceroyalty. The Arabians from the East were also extremely numerous. The immense riches which Musa had carried to Damascus had excited the avarice of the people of Syria and Arabia, who came in shoals into Spain ; and numerous colonies of the faithful were established by the policy of the state and the spirit of private adventure. The royal legion of Damascus was planted at Cordova, that of Emefis at Seville, that of Palestine at Algeziras and Medina Sidonia. The natives of Arabia and Persia were diffused round Toledo and throughout Castile ; and the fertile Province of Grenada was bestowed on ten thousand horsemen of Syria and Irak, descendants of the most noble of the Arabian tribes. Colonies of Moslems, from Egypt, were also established in Murcia and Lisbon. But the victorious bands of Tarik and Musa, though composed of a promiscuous crowd of Arabians and Africans, assumed the name of Spaniards, and regarded themselves with justice as the original conquerors. A rancorous enmity arose between those different races, which, together

with the ambition and jarring interests of their Viceroys, in a country where the distant authority of the Caliph was not, at all times, scrupulously respected, at last produced the most dangerous commotions. During the space of six years a series of civil wars and revolts, in A. D. 740 to 746. which several of the viceroys perished, had rent the Arabian government in Spain, and tranquillity had not been long restored when a more important revolution in the East extended its effects to that country.\*

The contest between the two rival Houses of Ommijah and Abbas, which had convulsed the Caliphate, terminated in the triumph of the Abassides. Mervan, the fourteenth and last Caliph of the dynasty of the Ommiades, perished in battle on the banks of the Nile, A. D. 749. and left his antagonist, Abdallah, in possession of the sceptre of Damascus, which, during the space of ninety-one years, had been swayed by the House of Ommijah.

The Mahommedans of Spain were at a peaceful and happy distance from the scene of this bloody revolution; but their connexion with the actors and sufferers involved them in its consequences. The elevation of the House of

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\* For a detail of these commotions, *vid.* Cœdore, *Hist. d'Espagne*, &c. tom. 1. p. 13, to 17.

Abbas was followed by a bloody proscription of the Ommiades. One royal youth named Abdalrahman, escaped from the general massacre. Having with great difficulty eluded the diligence and celerity of his pursuers, he gained the distant region of Africa, and for some time sheltered himself in the recesses of Mount Atlas. After a variety of difficulties and dangers, he received an invitation from the Arabians of Spain, the majority of whom were attached to the Ommiades, and regarded the Abassides as the murderers of the legitimate Caliph, and the usurpers of the sceptre of Mahommed. The hopes of Abdalrahman revived: animated by the ambition of reigning, and the desire of re-

A. D. 755. venging the wrongs of his family, he landed in Andalusia. The white standard, the ensign of the Ommiades, was unfurled: a violent contest between the two factions ensued; and the blood of the Ommiades, in the East, was avenged on the Abassides in the West.\* The victorious Abdalrahman erected

A. D. 759. his independent throne at Cordova; and Spain, after having been forty-five years annexed to the throne of Damascus, was for ever separated from the Eastern Caliphate.

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\* For the particulars of the war between the Ommiades and Abassides in Spain, vide Cardonne, *Histoire d'Espagne*, &c. tom. 1. p. 179 to 190.

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## CHAP. V.

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Reign of Alphonso the Catholic.—Occupies the cities of Leon and Astorga.—Reign of Froila.—His assassination.—Reign of Selo.—His death and character.—Usurpation of Mauregato.—Death of Abdalrahman the first Spanish Caliph.—His character.—Accession of Hassem I.—Reign of Bermudo.—Bloody defeat of the Mahommedans.—Death of the Caliph Hassem.—His character.—Accession of Hachem or Hassem II.—His character.—Revolts of the Arabians.—Reduction of Toledo.—Revolt and reduction of Cordova.—Of Merida.—Death of Hassem II.—His Character.—His magnificence.—Accession of Abdalrahman II.—Civil wars among the Arabians.—Revolt of Toledo and Merida.—Successes of Alphonso.—His death.—Turbulent reign of Ramiro.—Inroads and repulse of the Danes.—Bloody defeat of the Mahommedans.—Death of Ramiro.—Death of the Caliph Abdalrahman II.—Character of those two Princes.—Accession of Orthogno I. to the throne of Oviedo.—Tempestuous reign of the Caliph Mahommed.—Revolts of the Arabian Governors.—Reign of Alphonso III.—Is expelled from his capital by Froila, who usurps the throne.—Assassination of Froila.—Alphonso returns to his capital.—Quells a revolt in Biscay.—Successive defeats of two Mahommedan armies.—Death of the Caliph Mahommed.—Accession of the Caliph Almoufir.—His unhappy and turbulent reign.—Revolt of Toledo.—Death of Almoufir.—Reign of Abdoullah.—Seizes himself up in Cordova.—Dies of chagrin.—Misfortunes of Alphonso.—Rebellion of his son Garcias.—Alphonso resigns his crown to Garcias.—Reign of Garcias.—His victories.—His severity.—His death.—Accession of the Caliph Abdalrahman III.—He reduces the rebels.—Restores the tranquillity of the Caliphate.—Accession of Orthogno II.—Two bloody but indecisive battles between the Christians and the Mahommedans.—The feat of the Christian kingdon

removed from Oviedo to Leon.—Death of Orthogno II.—Short and tyrannical reign of Froila II.—Reign of Alphonso IV.—Reign of Ramiro.—He takes Madrid.—Insults Toledo.—Besieges Saragossa.—Exertions of Abdalrahman.—His defeat at Simancas.—Ramiro defeats the Mahommedans and ravages their territories.—Death of Ramiro.—Reign of Orthogno III.—Suppresses the revolt of his brother Sancho.—Suppresses another insurrection in Galicia.—Abdalrahman invades Castile, is defeated and expelled.—Death of Orthogno III.—Reign of Sancho.—He is expelled from the throne by the Count of Castile.—Reign of Orthogno IV.—Sancho restored by the aid of Abdalrahman.—Sancho repulses the Normans.—His death.—Death of the Caliph Abdalrahman III.—His character.—General view of the Spanish Caliphate.—Flourishing state of science and letters among the Arabians.—Description of the Mosque of Cordova.—Wealth and magnificence of Abdalrahman III.—Description of the city and palace of Zehra.—Abdalrahman's estimate of regal felicity.—Observations on the subject.—General picture of Spain in that age.—Splendour and magnitude of Cordova.—Crowded population and wealth of the Caliphate.—Its commerce and revenues.—Literature and libraries.—Comparison of the Caliphate with the other countries of Europe.

THE modern monarchy of Spain, formed amidst the crags of Asturia, and confined at first to a narrow district, like that of Rome on the Palatine Mount, gradually increased its power and extended its boundaries. Mention has already been made of the accession of Alphonso the Catholic to the throne of Pelagius. In his reign, which commenced A. D. 739, and ended in 758, happened the memorable revolution which separated Arabian Spain from the Caliphate of the East. This important event afforded to Alphonso a favourable opportunity of enlarging and consolidating his kingdom. Taking advantage

of the civil war which preceded the establishment of Abdalrahman, he penetrated into Galicia, captured Lugo, ravaged Leon and Castile, and made himself master of Astorga, Saldagua, and Viçtoria. At the conclusion of each campaign he retired into the craggy district of Asturia. His retreat was marked with devastation; and he cautiously interposed a wide and desert frontier between his own contracted territory and the populous dominions of the Arabians. The fame of his exploits and the liberal distribution of his spoils drew from all parts of Spain numbers of bold and needy Christians, who joined his standard with alacrity. The Moslems, distracted by the rival pretensions of the Houses of Ommijah and Abbas, and agitated by civil commotions, were unable to oppose his progress, and towards the conclusion of his reign he ventured to quit his fastnesses in the mountains and to occupy the cities of Leon and Astorga.

A. D. 758. Alphonso was succeeded by his son Froila, whose reign was marked by a rigid regulation of the church, and signal successes in war. Amidst the commotions of those times, the authority of the church had been weakened; and many of the clergy had contracted marriage in contempt of the ecclesiastical canons. The laity reprobated their conduct; and the austerity of the monarch corresponding with the preju-

dices of his subjects again confined the ministers of religion to celibacy.

This ecclesiastical reform, as it was called in that age, is extolled by the Monkish historians : the military achievements of Froila more justly claim the applause of posterity. In two decisive battles in the Province of Galicia, and among the mountains of Old Castile, he defeated the forces of Abdalrahman, the first Spanish Caliph : in the first of these actions fifty-four thousand of the Mahomedans are said to have fallen : in the latter their whole army was almost annihilated. But the disposition of Froila was stern and sanguinary : he was not less the tyrant of his subjects than the terror of his enemies. His brother, Bimarano, who possessed the public esteem, was the victim of his jealousy, and in a perfidious interview he was stabbed by the hand of the monarch. This unnatural murder, added to a variety of other tyrannical acts, excited among the nobles an abhorrence and alarm which occasioned the destruction of the tyrant ; only a short time elapsed before he  
A.D. 768. perished by assassination.

As Froila had lived unbeloved he died unlamented. His infant son, Alphonso, who afterwards arose the father and glory of his country, was set aside for Aurelio, the cousin of the late King. The reign of this Prince is marked by no

event of importance. He died without issue, and the suffrages of the people raised A. D. 774. Silo, his kinsman, to the throne.

The administration of Silo justified the national choice : his reign was peaceful and prosperous ; and he presided with a generous care over the education of the youthful Alphonso. On the death of Silo that Prince was declared A. D. 783. his successor, but the sceptre was snatched from his hand by Mauregato, the son of Alphonso the Catholic, by an Arabian captive. The conduct of Mauregato was derogatory to the honour of the crown and the memory of his father. In order to support his doubtful title he introduced into his dominions the enemies of his religion and his country ; and kept on foot an army of Arabians to overawe the discontents of his subjects. His reign was deservedly unpopular ; and his death was regarded as a national A. D. 788. deliverance.

The year preceding that event, being the 787th of the Christian æra, and the 171st of the Hegira, was marked by the death of Abdalrahman, the first Caliph of the Arabians in Spain. During the space of twenty-eight years he had swayed the sceptre of the Omniades with a beneficent hand, and encouraged the pursuits of agriculture and commerce. The ruin of his family in the East had opened his way to a

throne in the west; and his talents for government and war maintained him in his high elevation against all the efforts of the Eastern Caliph and the frequent revolts of his own subjects, which appear to have been the cause of his ill success against the Christians. It is certain that the violent commotions which agitated his reign greatly contributed to consolidate and extend the infant monarchy of modern Spain. Abdalrahman was skilful in every kind of manly exercise, and particularly in the use of arms: he was intrepid in danger and indefatigable in labour and application; and to all those qualities he joined a sweet and insinuating eloquence. He cultivated the sciences and letters, and some specimens of his poetry, which yet remain, prove the delicacy of his taste.\* This Prince died in the 60th year of his age, universally regretted. His issue consisted of eleven sons and nine daughters, and he had so firmly established his throne that he transmitted it peaceably to his descendants. Haffem, his third son, was, by his designation, appointed his successor, and recognised by the Moslems as their sovereign.

The Spanish Christians, in order to supply the place of their late King, Mauregato, with a more worthy successor, drew Bermudo, the brother

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\* Cardonne, tom. 1. p. 211.

of Aurelio, from a cloister, to exchange the cowl for a crown. His subsequent conduct showed him worthy of his elevation. He introduced Alphonso into his councils, and intrusted him with the command of the army. Attended by the youthful hero, Bermudo marched against the forces of the Caliph Hassem, whom ambition had excited to invade his territory. The neighbourhood of Burgos was the scene of a bloody encounter. The Mahomedans were totally defeated, and the victory was chiefly ascribed to the valour of Alphonso. The generous Bermudo, seizing the moment of public admiration and gratitude, resigned the crown; and Alphonso, from the purity of his manners, sur-named the *Chaste*, was, by the suffrages of a free

people, elected their sovereign. The  
A.D. 791.

reign of Alphonso II. was distinguished by his successes against the Arabians. Their first defeat was near Lodos in Galicia, where sixty thousand of them perished in a morass, or were slaughtered by the Christians. In the fifth year

of the reign of Alphonso, the Caliph  
A.D. 806.

Hassem died in the fortieth year of his age. He had inherited the political, military, and scientific genius of his father Abdalrahman I. He was fond of magnificence, and extremely attached to the cultivation and encouragement of architecture. The great Mosque of Cordova,

begun by Abdalrahman, his father, and completed by Haffem, remained a splendid monument of Arabian grandeur.

The reign of Haffem, however, like that of his father, was constantly harrassed by revolts, most of which were excited by his elder brothers, Abdoullah and Suleiman, who were indignant at seeing themselves set aside from the succession. About four years before his death, he dispatched his general, Abdoulvahed, with a numerous army on a marauding expedition across the Pyrenees. The Arabians, on this occasion, pillaged the country as far as Narbonne ; but against the warlike Christians of Spain the arms of Haffem were generally unsuccessful.

His son, Hachem, or Haffem II. had a formidable rival in Alphonso the Chaste. His reign was more tempestuous than that of his father ; being harrassed by revolts, following one another in constant succession ; and his two uncles, Abdoullah and Suleiman, were his avowed enemies. Of all the Mahommedan cities of Spain, Seville and Toledo were the most prone to revolt. The former had exercised the arms of Abdoulrahman I. and the latter had long resisted the efforts of Haffem I. his successor. But Toledo experienced, in a dreadful manner, the perfidious severity of Haffem II. Being suffered to enter the city under the mask of

friendship, he invited the chief of the Arabian citizens to a splendid feast, where they were all, to the number of five thousand, involved in a general massacre, from which not one of them escaped.\* By this horrible measure he extirpated the seeds of rebellion in Toledo; but they sprung up afresh in Cordova, his capital, which, after repeated insurrections, was obliged to submit to the merciless hand of the victor. The suburbs were levelled to the ground, their inhabitants banished, and new castles and forts overawed the rebellious city. Merida also, and several other cities, revolted against the authority of their sovereign, and being reduced by his arms, experienced the weight of his vengeance. Haffem II. died A. D. 822, in the 54th year of his age. He was a man of great abilities and valour: liberal in his rewards, but severe in his punishments. Perhaps the incessant revolts, which agitated his reign, might occasion the cruelty imputed to his character. He cultivated and encouraged learning. Passionately fond of greatness and all its ostentatious appendages, he was the first of the Spanish Caliphs who placed a guard at the gate of the palace, and purchased slaves, of whom he is said to have kept 5,000; but his Mahommedan subjects were scandalized at

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\* See the detail of this affair in Cardonne, tom. 1. p. 241, 246.

the liberty which he took of drinking wine, a liquor prohibited by the Koran.

Hassam II. was succeeded by his son, Abdalrahman II. His reign, like those of his predecessors, was agitated by revolts. His great uncle, Abdoullah, who had so often attempted to dethrone his grandfather and his father, again had recourse to arms, but being again defeated, he died, worn out by grief and disappointment. Toledo and Merida erected the standard of revolt under popular leaders, and exercised the arms of the Caliph, who, notwithstanding these domestic troubles, made himself master of Barcelona ; but like his predecessors he had little success against the Christians of Spain.

The incessant revolts and intestine commotions of the Arabians afforded Alphonso II. a favourable opportunity of pillaging their territories and extending the sway of the Spanish sceptre. He repaired the walls and re-peopled the city of Braga, and penetrating through Portugal to the mouth of the Tagus, made himself master of Lisbon. In order to secure his advantages, he concluded an alliance with Charlemagne, who marching into Spain to reinstate an Arabian Emir, that had been expelled from Saragossa, established his own power from the Ebro to the Pyrenees. Alphonso soon after destroyed another army of Arabian

plunderers, who had ravaged the country round Burgos ; and another total defeat, in which they are said to have lost fifty thousand men, convinced the enemies of Alphonso that if age had impaired his strength it had not chilled his ardour nor abated his courage. This was the last military exploit of Alphonso. After fifty years spent amidst wars and commotions, he resigned the sceptre to Ramiro, the eldest son of Bermudo, and enjoyed four years of private tranquillity. The victories which he gained have immortalized his valour, and the churches which he erected are monuments of his piety.

A. D. 845. He died in the 78th year of his age, universally regretted by his people.

The death of Alphonso was followed by civil discord. The reign of Ramiro was short and stormy, but glorious. After having quelled two successive revolts, and too cruelly punished their leaders with loss of sight and perpetual confinement within the walls of a monastery, he was called to repel a predatory invasion of the Northern Barbarians, who, under the different names of Saxons, Normans,\* and Danes, ravaged, in that age, all the maritime parts of Europe. These marauders had moored their vessels in

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\* The Normans took Lisbon, Siville, and Cadiz : They were expelled by the Arabians, but they carried off immense spoils. Vide Gondonnet. tom. 1. p. 275, 277.

the harbour of Corunna, and spread terror and devastation through the adjacent country. Ramiro marched against this new enemy. The invaders were defeated: part of their fleet was destroyed, and for a considerable time their predatory squadrons shunned the inauspicious coast. The Pagans being thus repelled, the Christians and the Mahomedans again began to dispute the dominion of Spain, and Abdalrahman II. was an adversary worthy of Ramiro. But the arms of the Caliph were unsuccessful. In a bloody engagement the Arabians are said to have lost no fewer than sixty thousand combatants. Superstition imagined, or policy pretended, that in one of those bloody contests, between the Christians and the Mahomedans, St. James, the patron of Spain, mounted on a milk white steed, animated, by his presence, the warriors of Christ. His assistance was rewarded by the endowment of the church of Compostella, which was long afterwards celebrated as a place of pious pilgrimage.

After a reign of six years, Ramiro paid the debt of nature, and within the space of twelve months his illustrious adversary, Abdalrahman II. was called to follow him to the tomb. Both their reigns were turbulent, but both of them were glorious. Both these Princes were illustrious in arms; but Abdalrahman

II. was also distinguished by his taste for science and letters, and in particular for music and poetry. His political abilities equalled or perhaps surpassed his military talents. Wealth and plenty were the effects of his administration; and had it not been for their proneness to revolt, the Arabians of Spain might have been happy under his government. He died at the age of sixty-two, in the thirty-second year of his reign, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Mahommed.

A. D. 851. On the death of Ramiro, the sceptre of Asturia had devolved on his son, Orthogno, who, according to some accounts, commenced his reign by a splendid victory over the forces of the Caliph; but Cardonne asserts that the Arabians had the advantage.\* But whatever might be the event of a single action, the intestine commotions, which shook the throne of Cordova, tended to strengthen that of Oviedo.

The reign of the Caliph Mahommed was, if possible, more tempestuous than those of his predecessors. The ambition of the governors of the different provinces despised a delegated authority, and openly aspired to independence. Muza, the governor of Saragossa, a man of an

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\* La guerre recommença avec plus de fureur entre les deux nations l'an 851. Il y eut une bataille sanglante et la victoire demeura aux Arabes. Cardonne, tom. 1. p. 281.

enterprising spirit and daring courage, was the first who erected the standard of revolt. This rebel, after making a successful inroad into France, turned his arms against the kingdom of Asturia, but was defeated by Orthogno with the loss of 10,000 men. Orthogno also repulsed the Normans, who had ventured again to ravage the shores of Galicia. The policy of this Prince fomented the divisions of the Arabians by alternately aiding the different factions. By his sagacity in the use of opportunities, as well as by valour, he extended his conquests or his ravages beyond the Douro; and the spoils of Salamanca and Coria enriched the city of Oviedo. Orthogno I. died in possession of the esteem and

A. D. 862.

admiration of his subjects, and the national assembly committed to the hand of his son, Alphonso, the sceptre which he had swayed with so much vigour and success.

Alphonso III. who, from his achievements, obtained the surname of Great, was in the eighteenth year of his age when he ascended the throne of Oviedo. The dawn of his future glory was obscured by the clouds of misfortune. Soon after his accession he was driven from his capital by Froila, the rebel governor of Galicia, and with a few faithful adherents was obliged to take refuge among the mountains of Castile. Froila immediately assumed

the regal dignity. The success of the usurper had been rapid ; but his reign was transient. His arrogance and tyrannical abuse of power excited a general disgust, and he fell by assassination.

On the death of the usurper, Alphonso quitted his retreat and entered Oviedo amidst the acclamations of his subjects. But his presence was soon required in Biscay to quell another revolt. The rebels were crushed by his celerity and vigour ; and from the suppression of domestic commotion, he turned his victorious arms against the common enemy of his religion and country. Two Mahomedan armies, from Cordova and Toledo, having attempted to penetrate, by different routes, into his dominions, were successively defeated. Alphonso having ravaged the Mahomedan territory as far as Merida, enriched his soldiers with the spoils of his enemies, and, after a number of bloody conflicts, established his dominion over that district of modern Portugal, which lies between the Minho and the Douro.

A. D. 886. In the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Alphonso the Great, the Caliph Mahommed died at Cordova, after having, for the space of thirty-three years, grasped, with a vigorous hand, a sceptre which was every moment in danger of being wrested from him by

the efforts of rebellion. Never was a reign more tempestuous than that of Mahommed : history describes it as a continued series of formidable revolts. Notwithstanding their bloody wars against the Christians, the force of the Arabians in Spain seemed to be chiefly employed against one another in opposite factions, and the rebellious city of Toledo was always among the first to resist the authority of the sovereign. The reign of this Caliph was also harrassed by the Normans, who, arriving with a fleet of sixty sail, re-commenced their depredations on the coast of Galicia, and being repulsed by the Christians, ravaged the maritime parts of the Arabian territories in Spain, from whence proceeding to the Balearic Isles and the coast of Africa, they reduced to ashes all the towns and villages near the shore, and returned to their own country with an immense quantity of plunder.\*

Mahommed was succeeded in the Caliphate by his son, Almouzir, whose short reign was turbulent and unhappy. Ibu Haffoun, a daring and artful rebel, who had successfully resisted the authority of the father, continued in arms against his son ; and the citizens of Toledo, ever ready for revolt, attached themselves to his party. Departing suddenly from Cordova,

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\* Cardonne, tom. 1. p. 296.

Almoufir advanced with his army to Toledo, and having laid siege to that city, expired of sickness before its walls, in the third year of his reign, and the forty-sixth year of his age.

A. D. 889. Abdoullah, his brother, next ascended the throne. He immediately raised the siege of Toledo, and returned to Cordova. But his retreat to the capital was the signal for a general revolt in the provinces. Toledo, Seville, Medina Sidonia, Lisbon, and most of the principal cities of the Caliphate embraced the party of Ibu Hassoun. The capital alone remained faithful to its sovereign. This tremendous revolution did not discourage Abdoullah: he levied an army of forty thousand men in Cordova, and marched against Ibu Hassoun. The artful chieftain retired with his forces into the mountains. The Caliph imprudently resolving to pursue him into his retreat, was surprised by the rebel troops, who pillaged his camp and captured all his baggage. This disaster discouraged the royal army, and the soldiers tumultuously insisted on returning to Cordova. Abdoullah was obliged to accede to their demand, and to shut himself up in his capital. As the provinces were revolted, the taxes no longer poured wealth into the royal treasury. The unfortunate Caliph saw his revenues as well as his authority nearly annihilated: the fortitude of his mind was overcome by

A. D. 912. the gloomy aspect of his affairs, and he died of grief at Cordova, in the seventy-first year of his age, and the twenty-third of a most unprosperous reign.

History will not refuse to Alphonso the tribute due to those qualities which procured him the surname of Great ; but the sagacious reader will observe that the perturbed reigns of the three Caliphs, his contemporaries, contributed in no small degree to his successes. During this period, however, Christian as well as Mahomedan, Spain was a theatre of intestine commotions. After the death of Froila, three successive revolts in Gallicia, and two in Castile, were suppressed by Alphonso. But his declining years were exposed to a more disagreeable struggle. The magnificence of his buildings, and his almost continual wars, had obliged him to impose new taxes, which excited the murmurs of his subjects. Garcias, his eldest son, encouraged the general discontent, and erected the standard of rebellion. His revolt was supported by Xiniene, his mother, and by Nugnez Fernandez, one of the most powerful nobles of Castile ; and a civil war was kindled in the kingdom. Alphonso displayed his prudence in terminating an unnatural contest which might have proved fatal to his House, and must have been destructive to his people. After a long and glorious, although

turbulent reign of forty-eight years, he resigned the crown to his son in the national council at Oviedo.  
A. D. 910.

In the possession of the throne Garcias displayed that affection and reverence for his father which he had before neglected ; and Alphonso assisted his son in the council and in the field. The country beyond the Douro was swept by their united arms, and the cities on its banks were strengthened with new fortifications. Death closed the long and glorious toils of Alphonso soon after his resignation. Garcias did not long survive his father. Bold and enterprising in the field, he was the terror of his enemies, but severe and inexorable in his administration, he never gained the affection of his subjects, and after a short reign of three years, he  
A. D. 913. died without exciting their regret.

The year preceding had been distinguished by the death of the Caliph Abdoullah, and the elevation of Abdalrahman III. to the throne of Cordova. This Prince was the nephew of his predecessor, and son of the Caliph Mahommed, being the first instance of deviation from lineal descent since the establishment of the throne of the Omniades in Spain. At his accession the Provinces of the Caliphate were, as already observed, in a state of general revolt ; but Abdalrahman dissipated the factions, reduced

the rebellious cities, humbled the seditious chieftains, and restored the majesty of the throne. His first operations were directed against the famous rebel Ibu Haffoun, whom he defeated with great slaughter in a general engagement. The victory was so complete, and the martial talents of Abdalrahman were, in this battle, so conspicuous, that all the cities acknowledged his authority, and the prudence and vigour of his administration retained them in their obedience. On the

A. D. 913. death of Garcias, his brother, Orthogno

II. was, by the free suffrages of the people, elected King of Asturia. In this Prince Abdalrahman found a contemporary and rival not unworthy of the greatest of the Caliphs of Spain. Orthogno, soon after his accession, made an irruption into New Castile, where he defeated the armies of Abdalrahman, took Talavera by assault, razed the city to the ground, carried off in chains the governor and principal inhabitants, and returned to Oviedo covered with glory and laden with spoils. Abdalrahman, being scarcely yet established on his throne, solicited assistance from the Arabian Princes of Africa, and obtained a body of troops. But the united armies of Cordova and Africa being totally defeated, with the loss of two of their ablest generals, Orthogno ravaged the open country of Portugal, putting all to fire and sword,

and having penetrated as far as Merida, plundered and destroyed the cities on the banks of the Guadiana. Such an accumulation of misfortunes obliged the Arabians to agree to a suspension of arms, on conditions dictated by the victor. But the reign of Orthogno was not invariably gilded with success. Abdalrahman resolved to break a dishonourable truce which nothing but necessity could have induced him to sign. He put the whole force of the Caliphate in motion. The christian monarch met him in the field; and an action took place in which the victory was doubtful. After this battle Abdalrahman ravaged the kingdom of Navarre.\* Orthogno flew to the assistance of its King. Another action took place as bloody as the former, and of which the issue was equally indecisive. The war between the Christians and the Mahomedans was afterwards confined to desultory enterprises, and the last days of Orthogno were clouded by domestic uneasiness. This monarch removed the seat of his government from Oviedo to Leon, and from that period the name of the kingdom of Asturia was lost in

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\* Charlemagne in an expedition into Spain, A. D. 771, had seized Navarre, which, with part of Biscay and Catalonia, afterwards constituted a French province. But on the dissolution of his vast empire, the provinces had assumed the independent sovereignty, first with the title of Count, and afterwards of King of Navarre.

that of the kingdom of Leon. Orthogno  
 A. D. 923. expired at his new capital, and the  
 national council, setting aside his two sons,  
 Alphonso and Ramiro, elected Froila, his brother,  
 to the succession. Thus the three sons of  
 Alphonso the Great successively wore his crown.  
 But the last of the number was unworthy of his  
 glorious progenitor. His reign was stained by  
 the murder of the nobles who had opposed his  
 election; but his cruelty was arrested by disease,  
 and a year of tyranny was terminated by his  
 death. His nephew, Alphonso, the  
 A. D. 924. eldest son of Orthogno II. was raised  
 to the throne of Leon, which, within less than  
 a year, he resigned to his brother Ramiro. But  
 repenting soon after, he took the advantage of  
 Ramiro's absence to resume the sovereign  
 authority. This inconstancy occasioned his  
 ruin. Alphonso was besieged in Leon, and  
 reduced by famine to implore the mercy of his  
 brother. His cousins, the three sons of Froila,  
 had also erected the standard of revolt in Asturia.  
 But the superior genius or fortune of Ramiro  
 prevailed. His cousins and his brother suffered  
 the same punishment, being condemned to loss  
 of sight, and confinement within the walls of a  
 monastery. In that sacred seclusion the unfor-  
 tunate Alphonso, from that circumstance sur-  
 named the Monk, by an exemplary piety,

atoned for his indiscretion, and at his death was honoured with royal obsequies.

No sooner were the flames of civil discord extinguished, than Ramiro prepared for foreign hostilities. Having entered the Arabian territory, he carried by assault Madrid, the present capital of the Spanish monarchy, and after razing its fortifications, presented himself before the walls of Toledo, the strongest city of the Caliphate. In order to revenge these losses and insults, the Mahommedans from Arragon ravaged that part of Castile which belonged to the Christians. But Ramiro gave them a total defeat, and having laid siege to Saragoissa, obliged the Arabian chief, who reigned in Arragon under the paramount sovereignty of the Caliph, to acknowledge himself the vassal of the crown of Leon, and consent to the payment of tribute. Abdalrahman, indignant at a stipulation so disgraceful to the throne of Cordova, compelled the Arragonian chief to violate the treaty, and resolved to bring the contest between the Mahommedans and the Christians to a speedy decision.

The pride of Abdalrahman stimulated him to exertions worthy of the ancient power and renown of the Arabians. A modern historian relates that a hundred and fifty thousand Moslems, excited by zeal for religion, or avidity

of plunder, marched under the banners of the Caliph. This numerous and formidable host ravaged Old Castile, and penetrated into the kingdom of Leon. The plains of Simancas, near the confluence of the Pisuerga and the Douro, were the theatre of a bloody encounter between the Christians and the Mahomedans. Ramiro gained a signal victory, and the great Abdalrahman, after losing thirty thousand of his soldiers, made a difficult escape from the ensanguined field. This memorable battle is placed by Mariana in the year 934 of the Christian æra; but it is dated four years later by the Arabian historians, whose authority seems to be preferred by M. de Cardonne.

The King of Leon having triumphed over an enemy, worthy of his own renown in arms, abandoned the hope of foreign conquest to extinguish the flames of intestine commotion. His vassal, the Count of Castile, aspired to independence. Ramiro, with a veteran army, marched into that province, which he soon reduced to obedience, and having seized the Count, with the other chiefs of the hostile confederacy, carried them prisoners to Leon. But his policy or clemency preserved their lives, and at last restored them to freedom, and the public union was cemented by the marriage of his son Orthogno with Urraca, the daughter of the Lord of Castile.

With the return of internal tranquillity Ramiro resumed his preparations for external hostilities. At the head of a numerous and veteran army he passed the mountains of Avila, and defeated the Mahommedans, of whom twelve thousand were left dead on the field. After this important victory he ravaged New Castile, and with an immense booty returned to Leon. Being warned, by a mortal disease, that his end approached, he resigned the crown to his son, Orthogno, whose accession received the unanimous approbation of the national council. The martial exploits of Ramiro had equalled those of his most illustrious predecessors ; and after a glorious reign of twenty seven years, he expired amidst the applause and lamentations of his subjects.

A. D. 952.

The brilliant career of Ramiro II. had received additional lustre from being opposed to the genius and power of the great Abdalrahman, and Orthogno III. had the honour of contending with the same formidable adversary. But his first trophies were erected on the suppression of domestic revolt. Immediately after his accession a civil war was kindled by his brother, Sancho, whose pretensions were supported by his uncle, the King of Navarre ; and Orthogno beheld, with surprise and indignation, his own father-in-law, Gonzalez, Count of Castile, associated with

his rival. But the formidable preparations of Orthogno awed the confederates into submission, and the public tranquillity was preserved without the effusion of blood. A new insurrection in Galicia was also suppressed by his sudden appearance in arms, and his offer of a general pardon. Having successfully resisted the combinations of his domestic foes, the King of Leon turned his arms against the foreign enemies of his throne and religion. He ravaged the whole country of Portugal ; and Lisbon was a second time taken and plundered by a Christian army. Abdalrahman, at the same time, sent a force of eighty thousand men to invade Castile ; but all the inhabitants who were able to bear arms having joined the standard of their Count Ferdinand, defeated the Moslems, and by the assistance of Orthogno expelled them from the country.

A. D. 957. After a reign of five years, the glorious career of Orthogno was arrested by death. He left only one son who was yet in his infancy ; and the national council raised Sancho to the throne of Leon. But the new monarch, who had formerly attempted to wrest the sceptre from the hand of his brother, found himself incapable of retaining it when in his possession. Gonzalez, Count of Castile, revolted against his authority, compelled him to seek an asylum in the court of his uncle, the

King of Navarre, and placed the crown of Leon on the head of Orthogno IV. This Prince was the son of the unfortunate Alphonso the Monk, and nephew of Ramiro II. but he neither inherited the mild virtues of his father, nor the elevated genius of his uncle; and his tyranny excited the disaffection of his subjects. Sancho, in the mean while, repaired to the court of Cordova; and his visit was productive of two great advantages. He had long laboured under a dropical complaint: his health was restored by the skill of the Arabian physicians, and his cause was espoused by the generosity or policy of the Caliph. The forces of Abdalrahman were joined by those of the King of Navarre; and on the approach of the combined armies of the Mahommedans and Christians, Orthogno sought refuge with the Arabian chief of Arragon. The Count of Castile hazarded the event of a battle, was vanquished and made prisoner: his disaster extinguished the hopes of his faction; and Sancho re-ascended the throne of Leon without further opposition. His generosity or policy inclined him to lenity rather than revenge. The turbulent Gonzalez was liberated; and some historians conjecture that the King of Leon secured his future friendship by renouncing all claims of homage from the Counts of Castile. The tranquillity of his reign was soon after interrupted

by the piratical descents of the Normans, whom Sancho repulsed with prodigious slaughter. But after the public tranquillity was every where restored, the King of Leon fell a victim to his own magnanimity. He met with his death by eating a poisoned apple presented to him by a traitor, whom he had pardoned and received into favour.

A. D. 967.

In the year 961 of the Christian æra, and the fourth of the reign of Sancho, King of Leon, Abdalrahman III. the greatest and most magnificent of the Caliphs of Spain, descended to the tomb, at the age of seventy-three, after having, for the space of near fifty years, adorned, by his political and military talents, the throne of Cordova. His reign, which was equally warlike and splendid, shews the greatness of his political as well as military talents. Having first subdued the rebels of his own kingdom, he turned his arms against the Christians, and several times carried the flames of war into the heart of their dominions. Though repeatedly defeated he was never discouraged: his avidity of glory supported him under every reverse of fortune; and when he saw himself disappointed of making conquests in Spain, he directed his views towards Africa, and annexed Ceuta and Seldjemesse to his dominions.

Yet amidst a series of almost continual wars, the prosperity and wealth of his dominions, and his judicious management of the finances, supplied him with constant resources for an almost incredible expenditure. Some allowances may be made for the exaggerations of historians ; but it is certain that the splendour of his court, and the magnificence of his structures, were the admiration of the age, a circumstance which naturally leads to a retrospect of the state of commerce, letters, and arts, among the Arabians of Spain, from the time of their establishment in that country.

While Spain remained under the dominion of the Caliphs of the East, and was governed by their viceroys, the wealth of the country only served to enrich the royal treasury of Damascus ; and during that period the Arabians of the West were more distinguished for their enterprising valour than for their opulence, their splendour, or their skill in the arts. But no sooner was the independent throne of the Omniades erected at Cordova, than the immense sums of money arising from the tribute of the Christians, the imposts on merchandise, and other branches of finance, which the Eastern Caliphs used to draw from Spain, centered and circulated in the country where they were produced.

The reign of Abdalrahman I. the illustrious founder of the throne of Cordova, was the commencement of the age of Arabian magnificence. The tribute which he imposed on his Christian subjects was moderate; and Spain assumed, under his impartial government, the aspect of wealth and prosperity. Cordova became the centre of industry, of politeness, of genius, and the arts. Tilts and tournaments were the favourite amusements of the noble and the brave; and Spain was the only country of the West where the sciences of music, astronomy, geometry, and physics, were regularly cultivated.

Hachem, or Hassam I. the son and successor of Abdalrahman, equalled his father in his love of the arts, and especially in his taste for architecture. The spoils of war contributed to the magnificence of his erections. His share of the plunder of the southern provinces of France amounted to forty-five thousand pieces of gold;\* and this immense sum was applied to the holy purpose of completing the great mosque of Cordova which had been begun by his predecessor.† This superb edifice, which surpassed

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\* Among the Arabians the fifth part of the booty taken in war belonged to the Caliph. Cardonne, tom. 1. p. 220.

† The expedition here alluded to is that under the conduct of the Arabian general, Abdoulvahed, A. D. 792. Cardonne, tom. 1. p. 219.

in splendour all the mosques of the eastern Caliphate, was six hundred feet in length, and two hundred and fifty in breadth, and supported by 1083 columns of marble. The entrances were by twenty-four doors or gates of bronze of admirable workmanship; and the principal of these was covered with plates of gold. The summit of the dome was decorated with three golden balls, surmounted with a pomegranate and a *fleur de luce* of the same rich material. During the night this mosque was illuminated by four thousand seven hundred lamps, which annually consumed near twenty thousand pounds of oil; and sixty pounds of the wood of aloes, with the same quantity of ambergris, were used every year for perfumes. Hassem not only patronised but cultivated the arts. The great mosque was completed under his direction; and the bridge of twenty-seven arches, which he planned and threw over the Guadalquiver, remains to this day a monument of his skill.

The reign of Abdalrahman II. notwithstanding the frequency of civil commotions and foreign wars, was not less favourable to the arts, particularly to that of architecture; and a variety of new structures augmented the magnificence of Cordova. A perpetual supply of pure water was brought by an aqueduct, and distributed by pipes into every part of the city; and the

erection of a new mosque displayed the piety or the ostentation of the monarch. The leisure hours of Abdalrahman were spent in conversation with philosophers and poets; and music was one of his chief delights. His munificence attracted from the Province of Babylon, and the neighbourhood of Bagdad, to the capital of the Omniades, that celebrated master of melody, Ali Zeriab, whose name was immortalized in Asia by having been the instructor of Ishac Mouffoli, the greatest musician that ever appeared in the East. Ali Zeriab fixed his residence at Cordova, where he was loaded with riches and honours, and formed several pupils who equalled the most famous musicians of Bagdad.

A. D. 912 to 961. But the most splendid æra of Arabian magnificence was the reign of Abdalrahman III. whose pomp and profusion excited the wonder of his contemporaries, and have almost surpassed the belief of posterity. The almost incredible number of six thousand persons, consisting of his wives, his concubines, and his black eunuchs, composed his seraglio; and in the field he was attended by a guard of twelve thousand horsemen, whose belts and scymeters were richly ornamented with gold. The ambassador of the Byzantine Emperor, Constantine IX. witnessed the magnificence of Abdalrahman, on being admitted to an audience of

that monarch in the royal palace of Cordova. Several corps of cavalry and infantry, in superb uniforms, were drawn up before the palace. The floors of the courts, &c. through which the ambaffador paffed, were covered with the fineft Perfian carpets, and the walls with hangings of cloth of gold of the richeft fabric. The Caliph was feated on a fuperb throne : on the right and left were the Princes of the blood, and beneath them the Hadjeb, the Viziers, and the other great officers of the court, placed according to their rank.\* But the magnificence of Abdalrahman was not confined within the walls of Cordova. Three miles from that capital the city and palace of Zehra, conftituted in honour of his favourite Sultana, arofe as it were by magic, and difplayed all the luxuriance of Arabian architecture. This new city was built at the foot of a mountain, from whence iffued numerous fprings of the pureft water, which being fkilfully diftributed, kept the ftreets constantly clean, and diffufed in the hotteft feafons a refreshing coolnefs. But the palace of the Caliph was the chief ornament of Zehra, and the wonder of the age. The moft celebrated architect of Conftantinople was invited to draw the plan and to fuperintend the execution ; and the moft fkilful artists of

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\* Cardonne, tom. 1. p. 325.

the age were employed in its decoration. This superb edifice was supported by a thousand and thirty-three columns of Spanish, African, Italian, and Grecian marble, of which a hundred and forty were a present from the Emperor of Constantinople. The splendour of the hall of audience surpassed the bounds of credibility, and almost the powers of description : the walls were incrustcd with the finest marble ornamented with gold : in the centre was a bason surrounded with curious and costly figures of birds and quadrupeds, all of the finest gold, embossed with a variety of precious stones. The marbles were wrought and polished at Constantinople ; and the figures were masterpieces from the hands of the most eminent artists of that capital of the Eastern empire. Above the bason was suspended a pearl of inestimable value, which had been presented to Abdalrahman by the Byzantine Emperor, Leo, as a mark of his friendship and alliance. The other apartments were of a corresponding magnificence, and all of them displayed the wealth and profusion of the Caliph. Over the principal entrance to the palace, the statue of Zehra, the model of perfect symmetry, stood splendidly conspicuous, in order to transmit to posterity an idea of her elegant form and beautiful features. The narrow prejudice of a bigotted populace might condemn

the boldness of Abdalrahman, in presuming to violate the express mandate of the Prophet, which provided against the danger of idolatry by the interdiction of images ; but wealth and luxury had induced the enlightened successors of Mahommed to deviate from their original strictness in this and other particulars ; for in the Eastern Caliphate, the coins of that age were impressed with the figure of the sovereign.\*

The gardens of Zehra displayed the same elegance and taste as the palace. In the middle of these arose a magnificent and lofty pavilion, which commanded a view of the country. This detached structure was supported by columns of the finest white marble. Plates of burnished gold and steel composed the floors, and their dazzling polish seemed to vie with the lustre of the precious stones with which they were enamelled. Among the rest of its curiosities was a basin replenished not with water but quicksilver, which, when struck by the rays of the sun, dazzled the eyes of the beholder. In this superb and silent retreat, Abdalrahman used to indulge in calm and undisturbed repose, when satiated with the delights of love or the toils of the chase.

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\* Vide Cardonne, who describes the medals or coins of the Caliphs. tom. 1. p. 331.

In our imperfect estimate of human felicity Abdalrahman would seem to have been placed on its summit. Yet his name may be placed in the list of those, who, from the time of Solomon to the present day, have complained that the possession of a throne could afford no lasting satisfaction. An authentic memorial, which ought to temper the ardour of ambition, was found in the closet of the Caliph after his decease, and carefully preserved as an instructive lesson to posterity. In his own hand writing the great Abdalrahman makes this declaration of his experience: "From the commencement of my  
" reign to the present moment, I have carefully  
" numbered the days of pure and genuine happiness which have fallen to my lot: they amount  
" to fourteen. I have reigned fifty years beloved by my subjects, dreaded by my enemies,  
" and esteemed by my allies. Riches and honours, power and pleasure, have waited on my  
" call, nor does any earthly blessing appear to  
" have been wanting to complete my felicity.  
" In this situation, and during this long space of  
" time, I have not been able to enumerate more  
" than fourteen days which have passed without  
" being embittered with trouble and uneasiness.  
" O man! learn to make a just estimate of this  
" world and of the pleasure which it affords."

If the great Abdalrahman could find so small a share of happiness on a throne, how great must be the error of those who sacrifice peace and ease, safety and life itself, and what is still worse, perpetrate the most horrid crimes in order to reach this high elevation. Sovereign authority, however, has been, in all ages, the grand object of human ambition ; and notwithstanding the lessons of so eminent a moralist, there are few who would not willingly accept the cares with the comforts of royalty. The dissatisfaction of this celebrated Caliph, indeed, could only have arisen from the insatiable desires of an ambitious and extravagant mind. If his long and splendid reign could afford only fourteen happy days, how small a share of felicity must fall to the lot of the generality of mankind.

The profuse magnificence of Abdalrahman may amuse the fancy, but the means which supplied so immense an expenditure is an interesting subject of inquiry. The city, the palace, and gardens of Zehra, were the work of twenty-five years ; and more than three millions sterling were expended in the construction and embellishment of that favourite residence. Besides the structures of private pleasure or public utility, the numerous armies of the Caliphate, the splendour of the court of Cordova, the royal household, and the crowded seraglio, could not

be supported without an enormous expence. But the Caliphs reaped the harvest of a wise and equitable administration; and if we consider the wealth, the commerce, and population of the southern Provinces of Spain at that period, with the tributes and other taxes paid by the people, we shall easily discover the sources which supplied the demands of public magnificence.

In those times the Christians reigned in the north of Spain, and the Mahomedans in the south. The whole interior of the country from Madrid and Lisbon to Burgos, and almost as far as Leon, was the theatre of their incessant hostilities, and being every moment exposed to their mutual inroads, might be regarded as a wide and doubtful frontier, which afforded no security to the persons or property of the inhabitants. That part of the country could not therefore be either wealthy or populous. The northern and southern provinces, especially the latter, were frequently harrassed by intestine commotions, but were free from those scenes of rapine, desolation, and carnage, which religious and national enmity produced in the parts more exposed to their effects. The mountainous districts of Gallicia, Asturia, Biscay, and Navarre, however, were rugged and barren; and the Christians were more addicted to war than to either agriculture or commerce.

But the southern parts of Spain, which were under the Arabian sceptre, were extremely populous, commercial, and wealthy. The royal city of Cordova contained six thousand mosques, nine hundred public baths, and two hundred thousand houses.\* Eighty-four large cities, and three hundred of the second and third rank acknowledged the authority of the Caliph: the banks of the Guadalquiver were embellished with no fewer than twelve thousand villages: every quarter of an hour presented a new hamlet to the traveller, and in the course of a day's journey he might pass through two or three considerable towns. The villages were inhabited by a numerous and industrious people, who, in a fertile soil, had carried the theory and practice of agriculture to a degree of perfection unknown in any other part of Europe, while the inhabitants of the towns, by their ingenuity and assiduous application, made a similar progress in manufactures and commerce. The Spanish mines, once a source of wealth to the Romans, were not less lucrative to the Arabians, who wrought them with great assiduity, and drew from them large quantities of gold and silver, as

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\* M. de Cardonne observes in a note, that the number would seem incredible if the houses were supposed to have been as large as those of Paris. It rather appears that the same family often occupied different houses for different purposes.

well as excellent iron and steel. All the natural productions of the country were turned to the greatest advantage : some of these were exported in their rude state ; but the principal part was used in the manufactures, which gave employment to a numerous population, and formed the basis of an extensive commerce. Spain abounded in the best of iron and steel, in the finest of wool, and in excellent silk. Cordova and Toledo were famous for the fabrication of arms, in which they carried on a lucrative trade ; and these two cities might be called the arsenal of Africa, as they furnished the Moors with their cuirasses, their coats of mail, their helmets, and cimeters. The woollen cloths of Murcia, and the silk manufactures of Grenada, were sold at immense profits in the port of Constantinople. The policy of the Omniades, and of the Byzantine Emperors, was displayed by a friendly intercourse : each regarded the other as the strongest barrier against the ambition and enmity of the Abassides ; and the Arabians of Spain found in the ports of the Eastern empire the best and readiest market for the productions of their industry. Their traders carried to Constantinople rich cargoes of merchandise adapted to the consumption of that seat of opulence and luxury ; and in this advantageous commerce, attracted to Spain the treasures of the East.

The revenues of the crown of Cordova cannot be ascertained. As a great part of the imposts were paid in kind, it is impossible to make any estimate of their amount ; but as this depended on the quantity and value of produce, it is certain that among an industrious and numerous people, who cultivated the soil to the greatest advantage, it must have been very considerable. The royal share of the spoils of war was a branch of the revenue still less susceptible of computation, as its source was precarious : from various instances, however, it appears that it often brought considerable sums into the treasury. But the taxes, levied in money, might be easily ascertained, and their annual amount, in the reign of Abdalrahman III. is stated at near six millions sterling,\* a sum which, allowing for the difference of the value of silver between that age and the present, exceeds in a sixfold proportion the revenues of modern Spain, and in the tenth century probably surpassed the united revenues of all the other European monarchs, if we except the Byzantine Emperor.

Amidst the splendour and wealth of the Caliphate, science and letters were cultivated as well as the arts. The reign of Abdalrahman

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\* Cardonne has given this statement from an Arabian historian, *Tem.* 1. p. 338, at 12,045,000 dinars, or 130,000,000 livres.

was the reign of Arabian magnificence : that of Hakkam or Alkaham, his son, was the Augustan age of Arabian literature. The celebrated library of Cordova, which was collected, or at least completed during his reign, is said to have contained six hundred thousand volumes, of which forty-four were occupied by the catalogue.\* The name of Hakkam is dear to learning : an university was founded at Cordova by his munificence ; and the light of science and literature shone on the capital of the Omniades, in an age when the clouds of ignorance overshadowed all the rest of Europe, except Constantinople and its dependences.†

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\* Gibbon Dec. Rom. Emp. vol. 10. cap. 52. p. 44.

† The Arabian writers in Spain were very numerous, and Gibbon says that, in Cordova, Malaga, and the other cities of the Caliphate, there were not less than seventy public libraries. Gibbon, vol. 10. cap. 52. For an account of the learning of the Arabians, see also Bruck Hist. Philosophy, vol. 3. and Murat. Antiq. Ital. vol. 3. p. 932, &c.

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## CHAP. VI.

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Reign of Ramiro III.—War between the Christians and the Mahomedans.—The Normans repulsed and their fleet destroyed.—Revolt of Bermudo.—Bloody civil war among the Christians.—Death of Ramiro.—Accession of Bermudo.—Accession of Hakkam to the Caliphate.—He besieges Leon and ravages Castile.—His magnificence.—His patronage of science and letters.—His prosperous reign.—His death.—Reign of the Caliph Haffem.—Power and military success of his Vizier Almanzor.—War between the Christians and the Mahomedans.—The Christians totally defeated by Almanzor.—Almanzor takes Leon by assault.—Destruction of Leon.—Rapid successes of Almanzor.—Confederacy of the Christian Princes of Spain.—Memorable battle of Osma.—Terrible defeat and carnage of the Mahomedans.—Death of Almanzor.—Death of Bermudo King of Leon.—Reign of Alphonso V.—The city of Leon rebuilt.—Death of Alphonso.—Reign of Bermudo III.—Ferdinand, first King of Castile.—Death of Sancho King of Navarre.—Division of his dominions.—War between the Kings of Castile, Leon, and Navarre.—Death of Bermudo III.—Accession of Ferdinand, King of Castile, to the throne of Leon.—Decline of the power of the Omniades.—Civil wars of the Caliphate.—The throne of the Caliphs successively usurped by Almahadi, by Suleiman, and by Ali-ben-Hamond.—Mortada elected to the Caliphate.—Murdered by his soldiers.—Ali-ben-Hamond suffocated.—Casim, his brother, elected to the throne.—Expelled by Jaiah.—Casim re-ascends the throne.—Again expelled by Jaiah.—Mostahzar elected.—Death of Jaiah.—Assassination

tion of Mostahzar.—Elmuflick-Sibillah usurps the Caliphate.—His death. —Accession of Mutamed-al-Allah. —He and his Vizier perish in a popular tumult at Cordova.—Extinction of the dynasty of the Ommyades.—Usurpations of the Arabian governors.—The Caliphate divided into the different kingdoms of Cordova, Toledo, Seville, Grenada, &c.

IN the picture just given of the science, the literature, the manufactures, the commerce, and wealth of the subjects of the Caliph, it is pleasing to view in those times of hostile depredation and carnage, the tranquil pursuits and beneficial effects of peaceful industry. We must now turn to the bloodstained history of war and politics, and observe the gradual turn of the scales in which the fate of Spain was so long suspended.

A. D. 927. Sancho, King of Leon, was succeeded by his infant son, Ramiro III. Till this period the Christians had, in the choice of a sovereign, sought the qualities of wisdom and valour; and during the space of almost two centuries and a half the sceptre of Pelagius had, with few exceptions, been swayed by a succession of warriors and statesmen. Veneration for the memory of Sancho, and confidence in their own strength, or some other reasons, induced them to relax from this salutary caution. A child of five years old was placed on the throne; and the reins of government were committed

to the hands of his mother, the dowager Queen. An infant reign, and a female administration, were, during the space of twelve years, distinguished by prudence and vigour. The rapacious adventurers of Norway, having again commenced their depredations, were defeated: their fleet being destroyed, their retreat was intercepted; and those who escaped the sword were sold into slavery.

During his minority the reign of Ramiro was prosperous; but no sooner had he assumed the exercise of the regal authority than he showed his incapacity for the business of government. His administration was disgraced by the follies of youth, and his conduct excited a general disgust. In this state of popular discontent, Bermudo, the son of Orthogno III. was invested with the ensigns of royalty, and having erected his standard in Galicia, a sanguinary contest ensued. The battle of Monterosa was fought with doubtful success; and the Christians had reason to deplore the madness of civil war; for the number that perished in that bloody conflict was greater than of those who had fallen in any engagements with the Mahomedans. But while Ramiro was recruiting his forces, his death fortunately put an end to the contest; and Bermudo II. being left without a competitor, ascended the throne. Before we proceed to relate the tran-

actions of his reign, it is requisite to cast a glance at the Caliphate.

On the death of Abdalrahman III. his son, Hakkam, or Alkaham, succeeded to the throne of the Omniades. The arms of Abdalrahman had re-established Sancho on the throne of Leon; but a few years after the death of the Caliph the alliance was dissolved. In the year 965 the generals of Alkaham, having made an irruption into the kingdom of Leon, and laid siege to the capital, were repulsed with great loss by the bravery of the garrison and the inhabitants. In order to retrieve this misfortune, the Caliph took the field in person, and ravaged Castile. Several strong towns fell under the efforts of his arms; but the capture of Zamora, in the minority of Ramiro, was the last of his martial exploits. Preferring the sweets of peace to the horrors of war, he consecrated the remainder of his reign to the happiness of his people, and the improvement of his mind. The vigorous administration of his father, Abdalrahman, had extinguished the spirit of revolt; and the reign of Alkaham was not agitated by the intrigues of faction, and the violence of civil commotion, like those of his predecessors. In ostentatious magnificence and taste for architecture, he resembled his father: his prudent and equitable administration rendered him the idol of his subjects: his assidu-

ous culture and munificent patronage of science and letters, immortalized his name as a promoter of intellectual improvement. His reign was the most tranquil and happy period in the history of the Western Caliphate.

Alkahan died A. D. 976, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign; Hakkam, or Hasslem, his son, a youth of eleven years of age, ascended the throne of Cordova. During his minority the state was governed by his Vizier, the famous Muhammed-Ibu-Abi-Amer, who, from his martial achievements, was surnamed El-Hadjeb-el-Mansour, or the defender, and is designated in our histories by the contracted name of Almanzor. When the Caliph had attained the age of maturity he might have assumed the reigns of government; but long habits of luxury and inattention to public affairs had rendered him incapable of shaking off the yoke of his minister, and still less that of his own passions and pleasures. All his moments were spent within the precincts of his seraglio, where, shut up amongst women and eunuchs, he remained totally ignorant of every thing that passed in the kingdom; and the minister suffered none, except his own creatures, to approach the person of the monarch. During the space of twenty-three years Almanzor swayed the sceptre of the Omniades, in the name of the Caliph, whose

only marks of sovereignty were that the money was coined in his name, and his title was acknowledged in the public prayers. Almanzor's administration, however, was marked with prudence and vigour ; and during the time that he lived the internal tranquillity of the state was preserved, and its glory maintained.

In the ninth year of the reign of Hakkam, Bermudo ascended the throne of Leon. A. D. 985. His abilities for government and war are acknowledged ; but they were baffled by the difficulties of his situation. His contest with Ramiro had dissolved the strength of the monarchy, and the Arabians were conducted to conquest by the renowned Almanzor. The King of Leon beheld, with indignation and grief, the devastation of his territories ; but his courage never deserted him. Having, with difficulty, collected an army sufficient to face the enemy, he tried the fortune of war in a desperate engagement on the banks of the Ezla. The Christians made an attack worthy of their ancient renown. The Moslems were thrown into a dreadful confusion ; but the courage and abilities of Almanzor re-called victory to his standard : he rallied his troops, and led them on to the charge. The Christians were overpowered : the greatest part of their army fell by the sword of the enemy, and the King, with only a small number of his

troops, retired, with precipitation, to the capital. Almanzor, without loss of time, marched to Leon; but the heavy rains and the advanced season having prevented him from undertaking the siege, he returned to Cordova covered with glory and laden with spoils. Bermudo, however, suspecting that Almanzor would renew his attempt in the spring, ordered the inhabitants to retire with their most valuable effects; and having placed in Leon a strong garrison, commanded by the Count de Gonsalvez, he withdrew with the rest of his troops to Oviedo.

The enterprising spirit of Almanzor realized the apprehensions of the Christian monarch. After a long and murderous siege, Leon was carried by assault and levelled with the ground. The governor and his soldiers bravely fell with their swords in their hands, after having immolated an incredible number of the assailants. The Arabian general vigorously pursued his advantages: in three successive campaigns he reduced Olma, Berlanga, and several other cities, and demolished the walls of Astorga, Coimbra, Viseo, and Lamago. Braga was razed to its foundations, and its inhabitants carried into slavery. Disease, however, interrupted his victorious career, and obliged him to return to Cordova, while the King of Leon harassed his retreat by frequent attacks on his rear; and the Christians

lost no opportunity of avenging the sufferings of their brethern of Braga and Leon.

The rapid success of the arms of Almanzor had spread a general alarm among the Christian Princes of Spain. The Kings of Leon and Navarre, and the Count of Castile, united their forces against the common enemy. Almanzor, far from being intimidated by this formidable confederacy, set out from Cordova with a numerous army, flushed with former successes, and confident of victory. In the spacious plains of Osma the Christian and Mahomedan banners waved in bold defiance. Bermudo, though afflicted with the gout, animated, in person, his foldiers. Almanzor displayed an equal ardour to assert his former claims to renown, and maintain the glory of the Arabian arms. The two armies rushed to the encounter with equal alacrity, and with all the animosity which national rivalry and religious enmity could inspire. The conflict, one of the most obstinate and bloody that Spain had ever witnessed, continued long after the close of day; and the Christians were ignorant of their victory till the ensuing morning discovered the precipitate retreat of the Arabians, who had abandoned their camp, and, according to the Spanish historians, left the field strewn with a hundred thousand of

their dead.\* The number is, perhaps, exaggerated ; but the victory was certainly complete and decisive. The renowned Almanzor, whose name had so long been the terror of the Christians, and who from six successive campaigns had returned victorious, might, by the remembrance of his former triumphs, have consoled himself for the loss of one battle ; but in seeing the Arabian force broken by so bloody a defeat, pride or despair overcame his fortitude. From the disastrous field of Osma he retired to the valley of Bogal-Coraxo, near Medina Celi, where grief or suicide terminated his brilliant career. The defeat and death of Almanzor may be regarded as the critical moment in the history of Spain, which gave a decided and lasting superiority to the Christian over the Mahomedan power in that country.

The death of the Arabian general was soon followed by that of the King of Leon. About  
A. D. 999. a year after the victory of Osma, Bermudo expired ; and the suffrages of the nation raised his infant son, Alphonso, to the throne. The administration was committed to the care of his mother, Elvira, who, in that arduous station, acquired the public esteem. The

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\* Cardonne describes the battle ; but does not mention the number of slain.

most important of her cares was to form the mind of the young Alphonso, on whose qualities the happiness or misery of his subjects was in a great measure to depend ; and his future conduct did not disappoint her hopes and her wishes. During the space of twelve years that he swayed <sup>From 1014 to 1026.</sup> the sceptre, he laboured, and not unsuccessfully, for the glory and felicity of his kingdom. Under his auspices the walls of Leon were restored and made stronger than before their destruction, and the capital, rising from its ruins, resumed its former magnificence. The new fortifications of Zamora protected the Christian and awed the Mahomedan frontier. But the reign of Alphonso, though sufficiently long for his own glory, was too short for the happiness of his subjects. Having crossed the Douro, and invested the strong town of Viseo, the heat of the weather tempted him to throw off his cuirass, and in riding round the walls he was mortally wounded by an arrow. Shortly after he expired in his tent, and left an only son, about ten or twelve <sup>A. D. 1026.</sup> years of age, who succeeded to his crown, and inherited his virtues.

After four years of minority, Bermudo III. took the reins of government. The defeat of Osina had humbled the pride and damped the enterprising spirit of the Mahomedans ; but the

Christians of Spain, no longer awed by the common enemy, began to turn against one another those arms which had often and successfully opposed the formidable power of the Caliphs. Sancho, King of Navarre, had wrested the Province of Arragon from its Arabian chief, who appears to have previously cast off his dependence on the Caliph of Cordova. Having annexed this extensive and fertile territory to his paternal dominions, he resolved on a further aggrandizement of his power. Under the pretext of avenging the murder of Garcias, Count of Castile, who had fallen a victim to conspiracy, he entered that country with an army, and having seized and executed the conspirators, converted to his own advantage their crime, by retaining possession of the dominions of Garcias. These new acquisitions rendered the kingdom of Navarre a formidable neighbour to that of Leon. Ambiguous claims to the city of Valencia, on the frontiers of Asturia, kindled a war between the two Christian but rival monarchs; and the strong city of Astorga was, after a long siege, compelled to surrender to the united forces of Navarre and Castile. Bermudo collected a formidable army, and pitched his camp within sight of the King of Navarre. The effusion of Christian blood, however, was happily prevented by negotiation. Through the mediation of the

Bishops of Leon and Navarre, a treaty of peace was concluded. The King of Navarre resigned Castile to his second son, Ferdinand, who espoused the sister of Bermudo, and was recognised as the first King of Castile.

The death of Sancho produced another division of his territories; and dissolved that power which had appeared so formidable to Leon. His eldest son, Garcias, succeeded to the kingdom of Navarre: Ferdinand was already in possession of Castile: to his third son, Gonzalez, he assigned the districts of Sobranza and Ribargon, inclosed between the borders of Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia; and his fourth son, Ramiro, had Arragon for his inheritance. Ferdinand soon felt the consequences of a division which paternal affection had suggested; but which must be condemned by sound policy. Bermudo, with a numerous army, entered his dominions, and captured the city of Palantia. The King of Castile, unable to contend alone with the superior force of Leon, called to his assistance his brother of Navarre. The hostile armies met; and the obscure village of Carrion, near Fromista, was rendered illustrious by a decisive encounter. The King of Leon, with greater ardour than caution, rushed into the thickest ranks of the enemy, and being transpierced with a lance, fell lifeless on the ground. His troops being left without a general

were thrown into confusion, and threatened with destruction. The King of Castile, at this critical moment, displayed a prudent and merciful policy. He commanded the carnage to cease, and the crown of Leon was the recompense of his moderation. The male line of the descendants of Pelagius, after reigning three centuries, was extinguished in Bermudo III. The claims of his brother-in-law were acknowledged in a national council, and the crowns of Castile and Leon were united on the head of  
A. D. 1037. Ferdinand.

About the time of this revolution in the North, another of still greater importance took place in the south of Spain. Within a year after the extinction of the line of Pelagius, the throne of the Omniades was subverted, and the Caliphate dismembered, not by foreign hostility but by intestine revolt. The fate of this once powerful family, and its flourishing empire, may be added to the numerous instances of the instability of human greatness. In the plenitude of wealth and power, Abdalrahman III. had, according to his own confession, been disappointed of happiness; but he might have indulged a hope that a throne protected by numerous and warlike armies, and supported by opulent provinces, would be long filled by his descendants, and that its magnificence would be perpetuated in the

lpiendour of his edifices : yet, in less than half a century after his death, the sceptre was wrested from his posterity ; and thirty years more did not elapse before the House of Ommijah was finally overwhelmed, and the kingdom of Cordova dissolved : nor do his sumptuous structure appear to have been of much longer duration : the glories of Zehra have long since been annihilated ; and not a vestige remains to mark the spot where once stood the palace erected at so enormous an expence.

The battle of Osma and the death of Almanzor terminated the glory of the Caliphate. That minister had established an authority similar to that of the Mayors of the palaces of France, under the Merovingian Kings, but productive of different effects. In France it overturned the dynasty, but resuscitated and aggrandized the monarchy : At Cordova it not only overwhelmed the House of Ommijah, but dissolved the Caliphate. Abdoulmelik, the son of Almanzor, succeeded to his father's authority, but did not inherit his abilities. He died A. D. 1006, and his office was filled by his son Abdoulrahman, a man of a limited capacity, and wholly addicted to his pleasures. Hakkam, the grandson of the great Abdalrahman, yet enjoyed the title of Caliph, while his minister possessed the authority ; and both immersed in luxury, neglected the

affairs of government. Muhammed Almahadi, or Mehedi, a Prince of the royal blood, considered it as no difficult task to wrest the sceptre from such feeble hands. He took arms, drove the minister from Cordova, seized the person of the Caliph, and usurped the sovereign authority. Judging that the preservation of Hakkam might possibly be useful to his designs, he caused a person greatly resembling him to be publicly executed; and the Arabians, believing that the Caliph was dead, submitted to the usurper.

This revolution, which happened A. D. 1009, was immediately followed by a long train of civil wars. Suleiman, a near kinsman of Hakkam, passed over from Africa into Spain, to avenge the death of the Caliph, or rather to ascend his throne. A battle was fought near Cordova: the usurper was defeated, and took refuge in the capital. Seeing himself about to be abandoned by the inhabitants, he drew Hakkam from the prison where he had kept him concealed, and showed him to the people. The citizens, however, being terrified at the approach of a victorious army, opened the gates of Cordova; and Mehedi retired with great difficulty to Toledo. Mahari, his general, ably supported his cause, and gave Suleiman a total defeat. A return of affairs, which happened A. D. 1013,

re-established the authority of Mehedi, or rather of his general, Mahari, who possessed the sovereignty under the name of the usurper. Mahari, however, was afterwards induced to assassinate Mehedi, and to replace Hakkam on the throne. Suleiman, in the mean while, aspiring to the Caliphate, refused to accede to the arrangement made at Cordova. The intrigues of his party at length enabled him to surprise the capital ; and the unfortunate Caliph, in order to avoid immediate death, was obliged to resign to Suleiman his right to the throne. But the elevation of the usurper was only a prelude to his destruction. Two brothers, who were officers in his army, one named Casim, the other Ali-ben-Hamond, asserted, in quality of descendants of Ali, their pretensions to the Caliphate of Spain. Ali, who was governor of Ceuta and Tangier, came over from Africa with an army of Moors, and advanced towards Cordova. Suleiman marched out against him, but was defeated and compelled to retreat into the capital. The inhabitants exasperated by his avarice, his cruelty, and the licentious conduct of his troops, opened their gates, and delivered Suleiman to his rival, who, with his own hand, immediately struck off his head. The father, the brother, and the sons of Suleiman, were involved in his fate, and perished by the hand

of the executioner. These cruelties excited a general indignation : even those who had placed Ali on the throne revolted against him. Abdoulrahman-el-Morteda, of the family of the Ommiades, was elected to the Caliphate ; but he soon experienced the precarious nature of his elevation, being shortly after murdered by those who had chosen him for their sovereign. Ali-ben-Hammond, after a reign of a year and ten months, was suffocated in a bath by the soldiers of his guard ; and the troops elected Casim, his brother, in his place. Casim had scarcely ascended the throne of the Caliphs before he was expelled by his nephew Jaiah, the son of Ali. Jaiah made himself master of Cordova : that capital, however, was soon after recovered by Casim : but the inhabitants, irritated at the excesses committed by his soldiers, expelled him again from the city. After wandering about for some time, Casim fell into the hands of his nephew, who immediately put an end to his reign and his life.

The inhabitants of Cordova, taking advantage of the absence of Jaiah, elected to the throne of the Caliphs, Abdoulrahman-el-Mostahzar, a Prince of the House of Ommijah. Jaiah, on receiving intelligence of this transaction, levied an army of Africans, and having laid siege to Seville, perished before its walls. Abdoulrah-

man soon experienced the fate of his predecessors, being assassinated by his kinsman, Mehemmed-Elmustick-Sibillah, who placed himself on the throne. This usurper did not long enjoy the fruits of his crime : within the short space of ten months he was driven from Cordova, and after being obliged formally to abdicate the throne, terminated his life by poison.

El-mutemed-al-Allah, the last of the Spanish Caliphs, ascended the throne of Cordova A. D. 1027. His indolence caused the subversion of his throne and the ruin of his family ; he left the management of public affairs to Aboul Affi, his Vizier ; and the vices of the minister rendered the government odious to the people. A general insurrection took place at Cordova, A. D. 1038, and both the monarch and the minister fell in the tumult. In Mutemed-al-Allah the dynasty of the Omniades of Spain was extinguished, after having reigned two hundred and eighty-two years since Abdalrahman I. erected his throne at Cordova.

The extinction of the House of Ommijah entirely changed the face of Arabian Spain. The governors of the different cities assumed the regal authority and title ; the Caliphate was split into a number of distinct kingdoms, of which those of Toledo, Cordova, Seville, and Grenada, were the most considerable.

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## CHAP. VII.

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Extent of the Christian and Mahommedan territories in Spain. - Death of Ferdinand. - War between his sons, Sancho and Alphonso. - The latter defeated and condemned to confinement in a monastery. - His escape. - Death of Sancho. - Alphonso ascends the throne and re-unites the kingdoms of Leon and Castile. - Seizes the person and dominions of his brother Garcias. - Seizes Biscay. - Memorable siege and capture of Toledo. - Roderigo, surnamed the Cid, captures Valencia. - Union of the Arabian kingdoms of Seville and Cordova. - That kingdom attacked by Alphonso. - The King calls to his assistance Jusseff, King of Morocco. - Bloody battle and total defeat of the Christians. - Origin of the kingdom of Portugal. - The King of Morocco invades Spain, and seizes Grenada. - Invades Spain a second time. - Takes Seville and assumes the title of "Prince of the Moslems of Spain." - Retreat of the King of Morocco. - His death. - Invasion of Spain by his successor Ali. - Bloody defeat of the Christians. - Magnanimity of Alphonso. - His death. - Reign of Alphonso VII. - Siege and capture of Saragossa by the Christians. - The King of Arragon killed in battle against the Moors. - Siege and capture of Almeria. - Alphonso takes Andujar. - Defeats the Moors near Jaen. - His death. - The Moors recover their possession. - Reign of Sancho. - His death. - Reign of Alphonso VIII. - Revolution in Africa. - Abi Jakoub, King of Morocco, invades Spain. - His retreat. - Invades Spain a second time. - Is defeated and slain. - His son, Jakoub, invades Spain. - Total defeat of the Christians. - Death of Jakoub. - His successor, Mahommed, invades Spain. - Is totally

defeated and loses all his conquests.—Death of Alphonso.—Reign of Henry I. - His death.—Accession of Ferdinand the Saint.—His successes against the Moors.—Final union of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon.

AT the period marked by the union of the kingdoms of Leon and Castile, and the dissolution of the Caliphate of Cordova, the Christian power had regained the ascendancy in Spain; but the country was almost equally divided between them and the Mahommedans. The Christian provinces acknowledged the authority of Ferdinand and his brothers, whose different territories have been already designated. The tribes of Arabia possessed the whole coast of the Mediterranean from the Pyrenees to the Rock of Gibraltar, and that of the Atlantic from Gibraltar to the mouth of the Tagus, with the whole country to the south of Madrid, including a great part of the modern kingdom of Portugal. A long tract of sea coast afforded them numerous and commodious harbours for commerce, and the grateful soil of Grenada and Andalusia amply repaid the labours of agriculture. But these physical advantages were counterbalanced by a train of political evils. Ambition and jealousy were fertile sources of discord. While the Mahommedans of Spain turned against one another those arms, which policy would have directed against the Christians, their strength

was exhausted, and their boundaries gradually receded.

The martial and enterprising spirit of Ferdinand prompted him to extend his dominions at the expence of the common enemy. Having passed the Douro near Zamora, he carried, by assault, the cities of Zena and Viseo, and in a second campaign reduced Coimbro by famine. His war with Garcias, his brother, although equally successful, redounded less to his glory. The origin of their quarrel is doubtfully related; but the event was fatal to Garcias: about nine miles from Burgos he fell in battle against Ferdinand, who used his victory with singular moderation. He immediately put an end to hostilities, and suffered the son of Garcias to ascend the throne of Navarre.

The crowns of Leon and Castile, which had been united by the arms of Ferdinand, were separated by his death. By an erroneous policy, which, though congenial to parental affection, has often proved fatal to monarchies, he made a division of his dominions among his children, and procured its ratification in a national assembly. To his eldest son, Sancho, he assigned Castile: to his second son, Alphonso, Leon and the Asturias: Galicia, with that part of Portugal which he had conquered from the Moors, being erected into a kingdom, was bestowed upon

Garcias, the youngest : and on his daughters, Urraca and Elvira, he conferred the sovereignty of Zamora and Toro, two cities on the banks of the Douro.

A. D. 1067. The death of Ferdinand was the signal of hostilities between his children. Sancho considering his right of primogeniture as violated by the distribution, invaded Leon with a formidable army. The fraternal quarrel was decided by a long and bloody engagement : Alphonso was defeated and despoiled of his dominions, and falling into the hands of his unnatural brother, was condemned to imprisonment in a monastery.

Sancho did not long enjoy his new acquisitions. The escape of Alphonso awakened his fears, and a suspicion that his sisters had furnished the means, excited his resentment. Toro was terrified into submission ; but Zamora made a vigorous resistance ; and Sancho, at the moment when he flattered himself with soon becoming master of the place, fell into an ambuscade and was slain.

A. D. 1072. Alphonso was at Toledo when he received intelligence of the fate of his brother. His own situation might appear precarious ; but his apprehensions were dissipated by the generosity of Ali Maimon, the Arabian King of that city, who honourably dismissed him

to improve the return of fortune. At Zamora, Alphonso VI. received the congratulations of the nobles of Leon and Asturia; and on his head the crowns of Leon and Castile were again united.

Alphonso being restored to power, indulged that ambition of which he had so lately been the victim. Garcias had also been expelled from his dominions by Sancho, and, like his brother, had found an asylum among the Mahommedans. At the same time that Alphonso departed from the court of Toledo, Garcias emerged from his retreat at Seville. But he had no sooner arrived in Gallicia, than his brother, having invited him to a conference, seized his person, and annexed his dominions to those of Leon and Castile. Alphonso also availed himself of a revolt of the inhabitants of Navarre, to take possession of Biscay; and having thus aggrandized his power at the expence of his kindred and Christian neighbours, he prepared to attack the disunited dominions of the Moslems.

His friend, Ali Maimon, King of Toledo, was no more; and in less than a year the sceptre had passed from the hand of Hassem, his eldest, to that of Iliaga, or Jaiah, his youngest son. The citizens, or at least the disaffected party, are said to have invited the Christian monarch to

deliver them from the tyranny of their new sovereign. Four campaigns, however, were consumed, and many bloody encounters took place before Alphonso could approach the walls of Toledo. In the fifth year of the war the siege of that capital was commenced, and its vigorous resistance for several months shows that if its King had lost the affections of the citizens, he had at least secured the attachment of the soldiers. The natural and artificial strength of the city, together with a numerous garrison, inspired the Arabian Prince with a hope that the Christians would fail in their enterprise. Toledo is situated on a lofty and rugged eminence, and surrounded by high and craggy rocks, among which the Tagus winds its devious and precipitous course. Numerous precipices render the city almost inaccessible, except from the north, and on that side the lofty and double walls seemed to defy the attacks of an enemy. Alphonso, having distributed his army into seven divisions, formed seven camps round the city and kept it closely blockaded, while the walls were assailed by the battering rams, and all the other engines of war, which art had, at that time, invented. The news of this famous siege attracted, to the standard of Alphonso, a great number of volunteers, among whom was the King of Navarre at the head of his troops. The

French nobility came in crowds to share the perils and glory of the war, and valiant knights from Italy and Germany fought under the banners of Leon and Castile. Alphonso had need of these reinforcements, for although a part of the walls was demolished by the battering machines, the city was still defended by its craggy situation and the valour of its garrison. The surrounding country being laid waste, the besiegers had all their provisions to fetch from a distant quarter; and sickness began to make its ravages in the Christian camps.

Toledo, in the mean while, experienced all the horrors of famine. The horses and mules, for some time, served the people for food; but this resource having failed, a general insurrection took place in the city. The inhabitants surrounded the royal palace, and tumultuously insisted on a speedy surrender. A negotiation was immediately begun, and the King seeing himself unable to resist the outrageous fury of the people, consented to a capitulation. The principal articles were that the King, with those who choosed to follow his fortunes, might retire with their effects: that the Mahomedans, who were desirous of remaining in Toledo, should be protected in the possession of their property and the exercise of their religion: that they should retain their principal mosque, and pay

the same taxes as under their former government.

A. D. 1085. Thus did the city of Toledo, after remaining three hundred and seventy-two years in the hands of the Moslems, fall again under the power of the Christians. Alphonso made this city the capital of Castile, as it once had been of all Spain;\* he strengthened the fortifications, and in order to counterbalance the numbers of the Arabian or Moorish population, he conferred great privileges on the Christians that were willing to make it their residence. Hiaga or Jaiah, its former King, retired to the Mahomedan city of Valentia, where he was soon after assassinated. The famous Spanish captain, Rodrigo, surnamed the Cid, whose name has been immortalized by the elegant pen of Corneille, undertook to avenge his fate.† At the head of his own followers, with a small reinforcement from Alphonso, he captured Valentia, fixed his residence in that city, and, during the remainder of his life, maintained his position against the armies of the Moslems; but, after his death, Alphonso abandoned that distant and precarious conquest.

\* Toledo was the capital of Spain under the monarchy of the Visigoths.

† Cid is a corruption of the Arabic term El-Scid, signifying Lord. Through the cloud of tradition and fable it may be discerned that he was an intrepid and skilful warrior; but his exploits have been too much adorned and exaggerated, by a poetical fancy, to be a fit subject for history.

The reduction of Toledo, while it damped the spirits of the Moors, inspired the Christians with new courage and ardour. Alphonso imagined that nothing could arrest the progress of his arms, and meditated nothing less than the conquest of all the Mahomedan possessions in Spain. The different kingdoms, which had risen on the ruins of the Caliphate, were agitated by numberless revolutions, and amidst those incessant changes the King of Seville had made himself master of Cordova. The two kingdoms of Seville and Cordova were thus united, and their Sovereign Mehemmed-ben-Abad was the most powerful of all the Arabian Princes of Spain. Alphonso, therefore, resolved to attack his dominions, not doubting but the subjugation of the King of Seville and Cordova must be followed by the conquest of all the other Mahomedan kingdoms.

Mehemmed ben-Abad, in order to prevent the effects of the storm which he saw ready to burst on his dominions, adopted the dangerous measure of calling to his assistance Jussef-Tasfin, the Arabian monarch of Africa. Jussef passed over into Spain: Alphonso entered the territory of the King of Seville and Cordova. A decisive battle was fought between Bajadoz and Merida; but the issue was unfavourable to the Christians, who were compelled to retire with the

A. D. 1087.

loss of twenty thousand men.\* Alphonso himself was wounded, and with difficulty escaped to Toledo. But the Arabians and Africans, although they could boast of the victory, had purchased it with the loss of thirty thousand of their bravest soldiers, and were unable to carry on offensive operations, while the spirit of Alphonso, rising superior to misfortune, revived the courage of his troops by a successful incursion into Portugal. Both parties, however, being exhausted by defeat or by victory, were inclined to peace. The heart of Alphonso was captivated by the extraordinary beauty and accomplishments of Zaida, the daughter of the King of Seville; and that Princess, to share the throne of Castile and Leon, was willing to renounce the faith of her ancestors. Their marriage was the seal of peace; and Spain enjoyed a transient gleam of tranquillity. The war being ended, Alphonso resigned that part of Portugal which was in his possession to Henry of Beaufort, a Prince of the blood royal of France, who had joined his standard, and received the hand of his daughter. This cession was the origin of the present kingdom of Portugal.

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\* The loss of this battle is ascribed to the fright which the Spanish horses took at the African dromedaries. Cardonne, vol. 2. p. 194.

The marriage of Alphonso with the Princess of Seville seemed to have extinguished the flames of war; but a new storm arose from Africa, and burst upon Spain with tremendous violence. After the defeat of Alphonso, the King of Seville had invited the African monarch to visit that city, and repose himself after the toils of the campaign. Jusuf and his courtiers were charmed with the climate of Spain, the splendour of Seville, and the fertility of its environs, watered by the Guadalquivir. From that moment the African Prince and his followers concurred in their desire of possessing so delightful a territory. But his strength was then insufficient for the attempt; and he returned into Africa to mature his project, and make the necessary arrangements.

A. D. 1087. Having completed his preparations Jusuf returned into Spain, and seizing Grenada by treachery, carried Abdoullah, the King of that city, prisoner to Africa. The storm was gathering but had not yet burst upon Seville; and Jusuf, for reasons not developed in history, appears to have delayed for the space of nearly three years before he undertook his next expedition. In the year 1089, having levied a formidable army, he landed the third time in Spain, and marched directly to Seville, which, after a long and murderous siege, was

compelled to submit to the arms of the Africans. The contradictory relations of historians render it uncertain whether the fate of Seville was decided by assault or by capitulation ; but the King, Mehemmed-el-Abad, and all the royal family, were carried prisoners into Africa. Juffef having thus rendered himself master of the united kingdom of Seville and Cordova, as well as of Grenada, assumed the title of “ Prince of the Moslems in Spain.” This monarch was of the race of the Almoravides, a tribe of Arabian extraction, who, amidst the innumerable revolutions and dismemberments which took place in the empire of the Caliphs, had acquired the sovereignty of Africa. Juffef was the second Prince of this dynasty : he built the city of Morocco, in an extensive plain about fifteen miles from Mount Atlas, and made it the capital of his dominions. Although the King and probably most of his courtiers and generals were of Arabian descent, the mass of his armies undoubtedly consisted of Africans. From this period the Arabians of Spain were under the domination or influence of Morocco, and being mixed with a continual influx of adventurers from that country, they have since been more generally known by the appellation of Moors.

The Mahommedans were obliged to submit to the domination of Juffef ; and the Christians

were greatly alarmed at the rapid successes of a Prince who was master of Africa and a great part of Spain. Alphonso ordered a *levee en masse* of his subjects, and so great was the general ardour that the priests and the monks put on the cuirasse. A number of martial foreigners, especially from France, flocked to his standard, which was also joined by the King of Navarre, who, with all the fire of a youthful warrior, came to share the perils and glory of the campaign.

By these means Alphonso mustered a numerous and formidable army, and marched into Andalusia. The King of Morocco being obliged to retreat from the superior forces of the Christian monarch, embarked with the chiefs of the Almoravides for Africa. The King of Aragon continued a vigorous war against the Moors, who bordered on his territory, and made himself master of several places of importance.

Jussuf died of a dysentery, A. D. 1106, after having reigned thirty years in Africa, and twelve years over the Moslems of Spain. Ali his son and successor, resolving to signalize the beginning of his reign by a brilliant enterprise, prepared to attack the dominions of the King of Castile. The spoils brought home by the former adventurers, and their reports of the wealth of the country, inflamed the minds of their brethren ;

and the rapacious myriads of Fez and Morocco, excited by the promise of Paradise, and the hope of plunder, readily obeyed the voice of their monarch. A numerous army being collected, was soon conveyed by a favourable wind to Spain, and being joined by the garrison of Seville, advanced into Castile. The country was ravaged, the towns and the villages were reduced to ashes, and the general devastation was carried almost to the gates of Toledo. Age and infirmity had rendered Alphonso incapable of taking the field in person: in order to animate his troops he placed at their head Sancho, his only son and presumptive heir, whose feeble youth and inexperience were compensated by the abilities of Don Garcias, who acted as commander in chief. The Christians had scarcely quitted the environs of Toledo, when they descried the banners of Mahommed and the warriors of Africa. With confidence, however, they advanced to the contest. On both sides the battle was begun with equal ardour; and the victory was long and obstinately disputed. At length the squadrons of the Almoravides overwhelmed the ranks of the Christians. Sancho and Don Garcias, with seven of the most illustrious nobles of Spain, were left dead on the field, and above thirty thousand Christians fell in this disastrous conflict. The loss of the victors,

however, is said to have exceeded that of the vanquished; and the assertion does not appear improbable, as they declined to make any attempt on Toledo, or even to continue offensive operations.

The character of Alphonso never appeared to greater advantage than amidst the storms of adversity. On a bed of sickness, broken by the infirmities of age, he displayed the same vigour of mind as in the days of youth and in the field of battle. He had no longer a son to inherit his crown; but his private loss was forgotten in the public calamity and danger: he levied new forces, strengthened the fortifications of Toledo, and in the moment of defeat and disaster still appeared formidable. About eighteen months after the overthrow of his army and the death of his son, Alphonso died in A. D. 1109. the thirty-seventh year of his reign, which had been almost a continued scene of warfare; and the states of Castile and Leon recognised the rights of his daughter Urraca to the united crowns.

Urraca was married to Alphonso, King of Navarre and Arragon, who flattered himself that he should reign in the name of his consort. His expectation, however, was disappointed. Urraca rejected his authority: their domestic dissensions opened into a civil war, which was followed by

a divorce. But this did not restore the public tranquillity. The nobles of Galicia acknowledged as their sovereign the young Alphonso, the issue of Urraca, by her first marriage with Raymond, Count of Burgundy. The Queen, who had held the sceptre against the grasp of a husband, resisted, with equal vigour, the pretensions of her son. During the space of ten years Castile and Leon were distracted by the rival factions. But at length the death of his mother left Alphonso without a competitor.

While Castile and Leon were agitated by the dissensions of the Royal Family, the King of Navarre and Arragon carried on a vigorous and successful war against the Moors. Till this time the Christian Kings of Arragon had possessed only the open and mountainous parts of that country. A Moorish or Arabian Prince reigned in Saragossa, as a vassal of the King of Morocco; and other Mahomedan chiefs held Huesca, and several other strong cities. Alphonso, King of Navarre and Arragon, having made himself master of Tahuste, a strong place, near the banks of the Ebro, added new fortifications to Castellar, a fortress situated on the same river, at no great distance from Saragossa, and began his preparations for the siege of that city. Numbers of the martial nobility came from the different countries of Europe to display their

valour at the siege of Saragossa, as they had done about thirty-five years before at the siege of Toledo. Among those of France were the Counts of Bearn, Bigorre, and Perche, who, at the head of their vassals, crossed the Pyrenees to fight under the banners of Navarre. The Moors, convinced that the loss of Saragossa must be a fatal blow to their empire in Spain, were determined to make the most vigorous efforts for its preservation. Temim, one of the sons of Ali, King of Morocco, hastened with a select army from Africa, and advancing into Arragon approached Saragossa. But finding his forces inferior to those of the Christians, the Moorish Prince was obliged to retire without hazarding a battle. The city, in the mean while, began to experience the horrors of famine; and the battering machines of the Christians had already demolished part of the walls, when Alphonso received intelligence that another of the sons of the King of Morocco was on his march from Cordova, with orders to risk every thing for the relief of Saragossa. Alphonso did not hesitate a moment.\* Leaving a part of his troops to continue the blockade, he marched with the rest to meet the Moorish army. An engagement

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\* In order to prevent any mistake in names, the reader will observe that this Alphonso was King of Arragon and Navarre, and contemporary with Alphonso VI. and Alphonso VII. Kings of Castile and Leon.

took place : the contest was soon decided : the Moors were defeated ; and Alphonso returned triumphant to his camp before the walls of A. D. 1119 or Saragossa. After a siege of eight  
1120. months the city surrendered by capitulation ; and its example was followed by several other places of inferior importance. From this period Saragossa became the capital of the Christian kingdom of Arragon.

Alphonso VII. King of Castile and Leon, was in the 20th year of his age when he received the sceptre. The ardour of the youthful monarch concurred with that of his warlike subjects : in order to efface the memory of their disgrace at the bloody field of Ucles, near Toledo, the nobles, at the head of their vassals, repaired to the royal standard. The army marched in two columns, the right commanded by Don Rodrigo Gonzalez, the left by the King in person. In this invasion the Christians retaliated on the Moors the calamities which they had formerly inflicted on Castile : the mosques were levelled with the ground : the villages abandoned to the flames, and the miserable inhabitants carried into slavery. The crops were destroyed on the ground, and the vines and olives pulled up by the roots. The country presented one entire scene of devastation as far as the suburbs of Seville. The want of battering machines pre-

vented Alphonso from undertaking the siege of that city ; but he continued his desolating progress to the rock of Gibraltar ; from whence he returned to Toledo laden with spoils.

But the arms of the Christians were not every where attended with equal success. The aged King of Arragon, not satisfied with the capture of Saragossa, had reduced Jaen and Mequinentia ; but while he was ravaging the territory of the Moors, and, with a corps of only three hundred cavalry, had separated himself from the main body of his army, he fell into an ambuscade. Preferring death to disgrace, he rushed amidst the hostile ranks, and after his sword had immolated many of his enemies he fell overwhelmed with numbers and covered with wounds. His small troop, following his example, performed prodigies of valour ; and a few of his attendants were so fortunate as to make their escape by opening a passage with their swords through the ranks of the enemy. Thus fell Alphonso I.

A. D. 1134. King of Navarre and Arragon, after having reigned thirty years, and been victorious in twenty-nine battles fought against the Mahommedans. The kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon, which had been united by his arms, were separated by his death : the first was conferred on his kinsman Garcias : the second recognised the claims of his brother Ramiro.

After his successful expedition into the South, Alphonso, King of Castile and Leon, had, by the general voice of the Princes of Spain, been saluted with the title of Emperor. Resolving to merit that honour, by his subsequent as well as his past exploits, he made, in conjunction with Garcias, King of Navarre, a dreadful irruption into Andalusia. The two Christian Kings plundered and burned the towns and the villages, and converted that fertile country into a desert. The strong fortress of Orléans, on the frontiers of Castile and Grenada, was taken after a siege of six months, Coria was also obliged to submit to their arms; and Mora, which had been recently taken by the Moors, was recovered by the Christians. After these successes, the Kings of Castile and Navarre, with the assistance of the French, Genoese, and Pisan squadrons, invested the strong town of Almeria on the coast of Grenada. The army assailed the walls by land: the fleet commanded by Raymond, Count of Barcelona, blockaded the harbour by sea, and prevented the access of succours from Africa. After a vigorous resistance the city was carried by assault; but the garrison, consisting of 20,000 men, retired to the citadel, and obtained a capitulation. Thus was Almeria obliged to acknowledge the authority of the King of Castile, and her treasures, the fruit

A. D. 1147.

of piratical adventure, rewarded the toils of his foldiers.

From this fucceffful expedition Alphonfo returned in triumph into Caftile ; but he did not long indulge in refofe. He traversed again the mountains of Sierra Morena, and reduced the ftrong and important fortrefs of Andujar. After a fhort vifit to Toledo, he again took the field in the hope of completing the conqueft of Andaluſia. In a bloody engagement, near Jaen, he defeated a numerous hoſt of the Moors, and his laſt days were cheered by victory. A violent dyſentery arreſted his brilliant career ; and he expired in an obſcure village on his return towards Toledo.

A. D. 1157. Alphonfo diſplayed the impartial fondneſs of a father rather than the policy of the monarch in the diviſion which he made of his dominions. He appointed his eldeſt ſon, Sancho, his ſucceſſor in the throne of Caſtile, and to his youngeſt ſon, Ferdinand, he aſſigned the kingdom of Leon. During his life a national aſſembly had ratified this arrangement ; and after his death the reſpective claims of the two monarchs were recognised. The conduct of the ſons of Alphonſo VII. exhibited one of the very few examples of fraternal affection, unimpaired by ambition or jealousy. The Moors, taking advantage of the death of

Alphonso, had recovered all his conquests in Andalusia, and again planted the standard of Mahommed on the towers of Andujar. But the King of Castile soon checked their progress, and, by a bloody defeat, convinced them that he inherited the martial abilities of his father. His death, however, soon followed his victory, and snatched him from the wishes of his subjects. But the memory of his virtues, and the influence of his faithful minister, Don Gutierrez de Castro, promoted the election of his son, Alphonso, an  
A. D. 1158. infant of three years old, to the throne of Castile.

The minority of Alphonso VIII. was disturbed by the rival pretensions of the families of Lara and Castro to the regency. These dissensions at length broke out into a civil war. The family of Castro were expelled, and declared rebels, and Nugnez de Lara, for some time, governed Castile with absolute sway. Under his administration a marriage was concluded between Alphonso and Eleanora, the daughter of Henry II. King of England. But Ferdinand de Castro, being supported by the King of Leon, returned with an army and defeated Nugnez de Lara, who was made prisoner. On this change of affairs, Alphonso took into his own hands the reins of government.

Alphonso swayed the sceptre with an unsteady hand: he engaged in a series of unsuccessful hostilities against the Christian Kings of Leon, Arragon, and Navarre; but at length the formidable preparations of the Moors obliged him to solicit the assistance of these monarchs. By some historians it has been asserted that Alphonso, actuated by jealousy and pride, and desirous of monopolizing the glory of conquest, anticipated the diligence of his allies, rushed to the battle, and was defeated with great loss by the Moors: others are silent respecting this event, and assure us that this monarch, in concert with the King of Arragon, made a successful campaign; and it appears certain that they made themselves masters of the strong town of Cuenza. Ferdinand, King of Leon, in the mean while, carried on a successful war against the Moors, and his son, Sancho, at the head of a formidable army ravaged their territories.

One of the most beneficial transactions of the reign of Alphonso VIII. was the marriage of his daughter Berengara with his cousin, Alphonso, son and successor of Ferdinand, King of Leon: it effected an immediate alliance between the two crowns of Castile and Leon, and ultimately produced their union. Never, indeed, was concord more necessary to the Christians of

Spain. From A. D. 1129 to 1149, Africa had been the theatre of a bloody revolution. The Almohades, a fanatical tribe, inhabiting the mountainous regions of Atlas, but of Arabian descent, had extinguished the dynasty of the Almoravides. After a sanguinary contest all the strong places were reduced, and in the year 1149, Morocco, the capital, was taken, and the greatest part of the inhabitants perished in the siege and assault. Ishak, the last African monarch of the race of the Almoravides, was put to death by the conqueror. Abdoulmoumen, of the tribe of the Almohades, ascended the throne of Morocco, and after a vigorous and splendid reign, in which he suppressed numerous revolts, overwhelmed all opposition in Africa, and reduced, under his sceptre, the kingdom of Grenada, which was possessed by a Prince of the Almoravides, the hand of death arrested his career at the moment when he was meditating the entire conquest of Spain. This Prince was endowed with a sagacious and comprehensive mind as well as an enterprising genius, and possessed all the qualities that form the statesman and the warrior: he spared no expense or attention in the education of his children: he engaged the ablest masters to instruct them in letters and the sciences, while he himself formed them to the arts of government and war. His charac-

ter would have been perfect had it not been tinged with cruelty.\*

A. D. 1160. Abdoulmoumen was succeeded in the throne of Morocco by his son Abi-Jakoub, who, from the moment of his accession, adopted his father's design of subjugating Spain. With an army of a hundred thousand men, he landed on the coast of Andalusia, and reduced the Moorish kingdom of Seville. New troubles in Africa re-called him to that continent; but as soon as these were suppressed, he landed a second time in Spain, A. D. 1184, and was defeated and slain in battle against the Christians.

On the death of this monarch, his eldest son, Jakoub, ascended the throne of Morocco. The troubles which again agitated Africa for some time, prevented him from undertaking any thing against the Christians of Europe. But no sooner was tranquillity restored to his dominions than he passed over into Spain, and obtained some advantages. Alphonso implored the succours of the Kings of Navarre and Arragon; but it is said that an inordinate desire of monopolizing the honours of victory, induced him to hazard a battle before he could be joined by his allies.

A. D. 1195. A total defeat of the Christians was the consequence of his presumption;

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\* For this African revolution, vide Cardonne, vol. 2. liv. 4.

and, after performing prodigies of valour, Alphonso himself narrowly escaped with his life. The Spanish and Arabian historians differ greatly in regard to several circumstances relative to this battle, and particularly in their account of the loss of the Christians, which the Arabians exaggerate to an incredible number ; but they agree in regard to the total defeat of the King of Castile, as well as in the date of the battle.\*

Alphonso, however, levied fresh troops ; and Jakoub sent for reinforcements from Africa ; but a second battle was equally fatal to the Christians ; and the King of Morocco, after ravaging Castile, laid siege to Toledo. The natural and artificial strength of that capital baffled all his efforts. At the end of ten days he raised the siege, and after having desolated the environs marched back into Andalusia. In 1198 he again took the field, and penetrated through Spain as far as Asturia ; but new troubles requiring his presence in Africa, he was willing to conclude a peace with the Christians ; and about twelve months after, he died in the 49th year of his age and the fifteenth of his reign.

Jakoub was succeeded in the throne of Morocco by his son Mehemmed-el-Nafir, who, less fortu-

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\* Vide Cardonne, vol. 2. p. 315, who seems to have accurately investigated the matter.

nate or less skilful than his predecessors, lost, in one moment, all the provinces which they had acquired in Spain. This monarch, desirous of rendering his reign illustrious by the conquest of that country, resolved to pour upon Europe the myriads of Africa. The numbers which he led into Spain are stated, by the Arabian historians, at six hundred thousand combatants, and all agree that this grand expedition exhausted the warlike population of Fez and Morocco. The Christians saw the necessity of opposing a strong mound to this overwhelming torrent. The Kings of Castile, of Navarre, and Arragon, entered into a strict alliance; and history has not clearly developed the reason which prevented the monarchs of Leon and Portugal from joining the honourable and patriotic confederacy.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries were the age of the crusades; and the spirit of religious fanaticism and military adventure, which had carried a million and a half of Christians to perish in the plains of Asia, was, on this occasion, converted to the more salutary purpose of protecting the kingdoms of Europe. Rodrigo, Archbishop of Toledo, traversed Italy and France, and represented in so pathetic a manner the dangers of Spain, that his pious eloquence, assisted by the animated exhortations of Pope

Innocent III. enabled him to bring fifty thousand foot and twelve thousand horse to the defence of his country. The King of Arragon also arrived with his troops. The King of Castile ordered a *levée en masse* of his subjects; and Toledo was the general rendezvous of the combined armies.

On the 20th of June, 1210, the Christians, in three divisions, marched from Toledo. The first effort of their arms fell on the town of Malagon, which was carried by assault, and the inhabitants were put to the sword. Those of Calatrava, in order to avoid the same fate, capitulated, on condition of being permitted to retire with their effects. The French and German crusaders, being disappointed of the plunder which they had expected, could not conceal their discontent; and it required all the firmness of the King of Castile to restrain them from violating the treaty. Their ardour for an enterprise, which did not seem to realize their hopes of enriching themselves by the spoils of the infidels, rapidly subsided; and in spite of remonstrances and intreaties, they quitted the Spanish camp and marched back to the Pyrenees. Of the chiefs of France and Germany, Arnould, Archbishop of Narbonne, and Thibaud de Blacon, alone remained beneath the standard of the cross. But the Spaniards, though deserted by

their allies, still pressed forward to victory, and reduced the town of Alarcon, where the King of Navarre joined the army with a body of troops more formidable by their courage than their numbers.

The Moors, being informed of the march of the Christian army, had occupied the passes of the Sierra Morena. By this manœuvre the King of Morocco expected to compel the Christians to make a disgraceful retreat, or expose themselves to a certain defeat, by engaging under great disadvantages. The dreadful alternative, however, was fortunately avoided. Under the direction of a shepherd they explored a new route across the mountains, from the summit of which they beheld the country near the Guadalquivir, toward Andujar and Jaen, covered with the innumerable tents of the Africans. Having discovered an advantageous position, they fixed and fortified their camp; and the Moors having supposed that the Christians had retreated, were astonished to see them in their front. Two days were allotted to the Spaniards to recruit their strength, exhausted by the toilsome march over the Sierra Morena: on July 16, the third they advanced in order of battle against the enemy. Don Diego de Haro commanded the van, and Don Gonfalso de Nuguez the main body: the rear was under

the immediate direction of the King of Castile; and the Kings of Navarre and Arragon were placed on the wings. Near Tolosa, the Moors, in firm order, with a massy chain of iron stretched in the front of their lines, awaited the charge. The Miramolin, or King of Morocco, held in his left hand the Koran, and with the right he wielded the sabre: The King of Castile also employed religion as an incentive to courage: the Cross was exalted in the front of the Christians by the Archbishop of Toledo; and both the monarchs reminded their soldiers that this day must inevitably decide the destiny of Spain.

The centre of the Christians began the charge, which was vigorously supported by the wings under the Kings of Navarre and Arragon. Three times they endeavoured to break the compact line of the Africans; but in every attack they were vigorously repulsed; and being incessantly assailed by fresh squadrons they began to give way. The battle now appeared to be lost. The King of Castile surveying the field, and seeing his army on the verge of destruction, exclaimed that a glorious death alone remained; and the Archbishop of Toledo, who represented the safety of the troops as depending on his preservation, could scarcely restrain him from plunging into the ranks of the enemy. His generou

contempt of life, however, contributed to turn the scale of victory. The Spaniards, stimulated by the despair of their monarch, made a last and irresistible effort. They broke through the thickest ranks of the Africans, and on every side scattered dismay and death. The Moors were thrown into a dreadful confusion: the field of battle was converted into a scene of massacre: each one consulted his own personal safety by flight; and the King of Morocco, escaping with difficulty, took refuge in Jaen.

The battle of Tolosa was one of the most decisive and sanguinary in the annals of war. The Spaniards, according to the general custom of all nations, robbed themselves of a part of their glory by extenuating their loss. The reader, indeed, must turn with a smile of contempt from those historians, who, desirous of establishing the miraculous interposition of heaven, would persuade us that in so hard fought a battle, between two such numerous hosts of combatants, there fell only twenty-five of the victorious army.\* The loss of the Moors is stated, by the Spanish writers, at one hundred and eighty-five thousand, and the number seems not to be exaggerated; for the Arabian historians

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\* This number is given in the letters of Alphonsus to the Pope; and Calaneo justly considers it as incredible. Vide Cardanne, vol. 2. p. 327.

bitterly deplore this defeat, which they regard as one of the chief causes of the depopulation of Africa, and of the downfall of the Mahommedan empire in Spain. And without entering into particular details, they assert that of six hundred thousand men, who composed the army of the King of Morocco, only a very small number returned into Africa.

On the bloody field of Tolosa the power of the Almohades of Morocco was for ever broken ; but the immediate conquests of the Christians were not of great importance.\* They led back to Toledo an army thinned by famine and disease. In that city they displayed their triumph and divided their spoils ; and after signing a treaty of mutual defence, the Kings of Navarre and Arragon returned to their own dominions.

The remainder of the reign of Alphonso was regulated by sound policy. A dearth which afflicted Castile, cast a transient gloom over the kingdom, and prevented the progress of military operations. But while Alphonso laboured to relieve the distress of his subjects, he saw the strength of the Moors consumed by domestic dissensions. Soon after the defeat of Tolosa, the King of Morocco departed for Africa ; and a

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\* The inactivity of the Christians, after so decisive a victory, is a proof of its not being gained with a trifling loss.

number of petty chiefs, erecting the standard of revolt, seized all his Spanish dominions. One of his brothers, named Zeid, assumed the regal authority and title in Valentia. Mehemmed, his uncle, was proclaimed King of Cordova. Seville and its territory entirely shook off the yoke of the Almohades, and became the portion of an Arabian chief, who had no other claims than those of ambition.

These dissensions of the Moors afforded to the Christians a favourable opportunity of extending their conquests. The Kings of Castile and Leon took the field and made themselves masters of Alcantara; but death put a stop to the future designs of Alphonso, who, after having appointed his son Henry for his successor, and the Queen A. D. 1214. Eleonora for regent, expired in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the fifty-sixth of his reign.

The states of Castile ratified the will of their deceased monarch, and his son, Henry, at eleven years of age, ascended the throne. He was soon deprived of the protection of his mother, who, in a short time, followed his father to the grave; and his minority was agitated by the opposite pretensions of his sister Berengara, and of the House of Lara, to the vacant regency. The intrigues of the latter prevailed; and in a national assembly the reins of administration

were committed to the hand of Don Alvaro de Lara. But the sudden and unexpected death of Henry, occasioned by the stroke of a tile, thrown in sport by one of his youthful companions, put an end to the ambitious views of the minister.

A. D. 1217. Berengara, daughter of Alphonso VIII. and sister of the late monarch, had, as already observed, been married to the King of Leon. The imperious sentence of the Roman Pontif had dissolved the marriage ; but the states of Castile declared their issue legitimate ; and placed the crown on the head of her son Ferdinand, who was then in the sixteenth year of his age.

Ferdinand, on whom, after the lapse of four centuries, the gratitude of posterity conferred the title of Saint, ascended the throne amidst the acclamations of his subjects. But the commencement of his reign was agitated by the turbulence of the late regent, Alvaro de Lara, who had fled to the court of Leon, and excited the King to take arms against his son. The coronation of Ferdinand was interrupted by the disagreeable intelligence, that his unnatural father and his rebellious subjects were advancing against him in hostile array. But the martial nobles of Castile resolved to support their King : a numerous body of cavalry was hastily assembled : the King of Leon abandoned his dis-

graceful enterprize : a reconciliation between the father and the son was effected, and the death of the turbulent Alvaro, which happened soon after, rendered it permanent.

The marriage of their monarch with Beatrix, daughter of Philip, Duke of Swabia, who had been elected to the imperial throne of Germany, gratified the pride of the Castilians ; and Ferdinand resolved, by warlike achievements, to merit the honour of so high an alliance. His first campaign, however, neither established his fame nor extended his dominions, and after a considerable part of his army had perished by sickness and famine, at the siege of Requena, he was obliged to desist from the inauspicious enterprize. The disgrace, however, was soon effaced by a train of the most brilliant successes. The Moorish King of Valencia, and several chiefs of Andalusia, submitted to become his vassals ; and for the space of ten years spent in ravaging the kingdoms of Grenada, Murcia, and the adjacent parts, at the conclusion of each campaign, he led back his troops enriched by the pillage of the Mahomedan territories. The fortifications of Jean, however, resisted his efforts ; and with great reluctance he raised the siege. In the mean while, his father, the King of Leon, gained a signal victory over the Moors, near Merida, and soon after breathed his last in a pilgrimage to the

shrine of St. James, at Compostella. Ferdinand had, in an assembly of the states, been declared his successor; but Alphonso had bequeathed his dominions to his two daughters, Sancha and Dulcia. All competition, however, was extinguished by the prudent moderation of the two Princesses: they renounced their claims to royalty for the calm tranquillity of a private

A. D. 1230. station; and the crown of Leon was placed on the head of Ferdinand, King of Castile.

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## CHAP. VIII.

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State of the Mahomedan power in Spain.—Chivalry of Spain.—Arragon desolated by the Moors, and Valentia by the Christians.—Cordova captured by the Christians.—Abou Said usurps the throne of Grenada.—Siege and Capture of Seville by the Christians.—Death of Ferdinand.—His character.—Reign of Alphonso the Wise.—Heroism of Don Garcias de Gomez.—The King of Morocco invades Spain.—Don Nugnez de Lara defeated and slain.—Similar fate of the Archbishop of Toledo.—Misfortunes of Alphonso.—Rebellion of his son Don Sancho.—Reign of Sancho.—Tariff taken from the Moors.—Magnanimity of Don Gusman.—Death of Sancho.—His character.—Reign of Ferdinand.—Gibraltar taken from the Moors.—Death of Ferdinand.—Reign of Alphonso XI.—Convulsions of Grenada.—Desolating wars between the Christians and the Moors.—Gibraltar betrayed to the Moors.—Abi Hassan, King of Morocco, invades Spain.—His army defeated and his son slain.—The King of Morocco defeated, and two other of his sons killed in the battle.—Algeiras taken from the Moors.—Death and character of Alphonso XI.

FROM the final union of the Kingdom of Castile and Leon, under the sceptre of Ferdinand, may be dated the future greatness of Spain. More than five centuries had elapsed since the Christians, in the craggy retreats of Asturia, had ranged themselves under the banners of Pelagius,

who directed their steps to victory. The descendants of the Arabian conquerors had ruined themselves by their divisions, and fallen under the control of African Princes: the limits of their empire had been gradually contracted; and when Ferdinand united the crown of Leon to that of Castile, the possessions of the Mahomedans of Spain were confined to the kingdom of Grenada, the Provinces of Murcia and Valencia, and part of Andalusia.

In this age the spirit of chivalry was in its full vigour; and it flourished in no country more than in Spain. The perpetual wars, rapine, and anarchy, congenial to the feudal system, and the enthusiasm excited by the crusades had concurred to its production, and brought it to its maturity in the different countries of Europe. The limited power of the sovereign could not protect from insult and injury the weak and unarmed. The valour and generosity of private persons afforded the most effectual defence against violence and oppression. Valour, humanity, courtesy, justice, and honour, were esteemed the characteristics of chivalry. The sword of the knight was blessed by the ministers of religion: his solemn inauguration was preceded by fasts and vigils; and he was invested with the honours of knighthood in the name of God, of St. George, and St. Michael the Archangel.

His duties were to check the insolence of oppressors, to protect women, orphans, and ecclesiastics who could not bear arms in their own defence, and to make war against infidels. Modern times regard chivalry as a wild and extravagant institution; but the manners of different ages, as well as of different nations, are formed by circumstances; and our ancestors, as well as ourselves, had reasons for their actions and customs. The disorders of the feudal ages furnish an apology for chivalry; and in no country was the power of the sovereign more limited, or the licentiousness of the subject less under legal control than in Spain. Amidst the scenes of war and depredation, diffused through every part of the country, during a long succession of ages, each warrior considered himself as indebted only to his own sword for the land which he seized or the spoil that he shared. Disregarding the authority of the sovereign and the control of the laws, he considered the measure of his own power as fixing the limits of his actions.\* The country was overspread with armed depredators, and the Christian, as well as the Mahomedan robber, not unfrequently plundered his own brethren as well as the

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\* For the origin and effects of chivalry, vide St. Palaye Mem. sur l'ancienne Chevalerie.

enemies of his faith. Amidst such scenes of anarchy it was highly necessary that some institutions should be formed that might inspire sentiments of humanity, politeness, and justice.

In several of the countries of Europe associations of knights had been formed, and had obtained the appellation of orders. They were generally distinguished by the name of the Saint whom they had chosen for their patron, by that of some mystery of religion, or of the place where they had fixed their residence. Those of Spain were the orders of St. Jago, Calatrava, and Alcantara: the first had been instituted towards the close of the twelfth century, under the auspices of Alphonso IX. and confirmed by Pope Alexander III. The grand object of chivalry being to oppose the infidels, and all disturbers of the public peace, such an institution, while the open country was not only ravaged by the Mahomedan enemy, but oppressed by the depredations of Christian banditti, could not fail of popularity and public patronage. In the thirteenth century, the wealth and importance of this order had become so considerable that it had, in its possession, eighty commanderies, two hundred priories, and a variety of other benefices, and was capable of bringing into the field a thousand men at arms, who, with their followers, composed a formidable body of cavalry.

From the distribution of so ample a revenue, and the disposal of so considerable a force, the grand master of the order of St. Jago was regarded as the person of the greatest power and dignity next to the King. The orders of Calatrava and Alcantara, though neither so honourable nor so opulent as that of St. Jago, were numerous and richly endowed. Religious and military enthusiasm, the prominent features of the age, characterized these institutions. To recover Jerusalem from the hands of the Mahommedans was the pious object of most of the knights of Europe ; but those of Spain might exercise their valour within their native boundaries ; and that enthusiastic ardour which had animated the Arabians, who marched under the banners of Tarik and Musa, seemed to have passed from their bosoms to those of their adversaries, whom it inspired with an energy which the feeble and divided descendants of the first conquerors were totally unable to resist.

The active and penetrating genius of Ferdinand did not fail to convert the spirit of chivalry to the public advantage ; and the irresistible charge of these chevaliers, mounted on their spirited horses, overturned the feeble battalions and light squadrons of the Moors. In Andalusia a small body of knights, under Don Antonio, the King's brother, being surrounded by the infidels,

put them to the route and killed their general. Ferdinand, in order to avail himself of the ardour of his subjects, took the field and captured Ubeda; but domestic grief allayed the exultation of conquest, and checked the operations of war. While Ferdinand was pressing the siege of Ubeda, his consort, Beatrix, expired at Toro; and during a whole year his sorrow resisted the calls of glory. But his temporary inaction only served to render more conspicuous his future exertions, and in the beginning of January, A. D. 1236, he formed, in person, the siege of Cordova.

Meutewekul-Ben-Houd, King of Grenada, who had conceived the project of reducing, under his dominion, all the Moorish possessions in Spain, and to unite them in one compact empire, capable of resisting the force of the Christians, was then, with a body of his army, at Ecija. The Arabian Emir or Prince of Valentia had made an incursion into Arragon, and rendered the country a scene of desolation. The King of Arragon retaliated on the territories of Valentia, and approached the capital. Ben-Houd resolved to attack the Arragonefe, and had advanced as far as Almeira, when he was murdered by conspirators. The death of this Prince was an irreparable loss to the Moors, who had no other chief that was able to stem

the torrent of calamities which was rushing on their empire.

By this event hopes of the citizens of Cordova were extinguished. The city was closely besieged, the walls were battered by the military engines, every post in the environs was occupied, and every supply intercepted. Famine within, and the sword without, menaced them with destruction; and the double danger induced

June 29,  
A. D. 1236.      them reluctantly to surrender by capitulation.\* Those who refused to live under a Christian government were permitted to retire with their effects; but the majority acquiesced under the dominion of their new masters. Thus was the city of Cordova reduced under the power of the Christians, after it had been five hundred and twenty-two years in the hands of the Mahommedans. The cathedral was solemnly purified from the profanation of the disciples of Mahommed; and within less than three centuries after its erection, the King of Castile and Leon reposed in the magnificent palace of the great Abdalrahman.

It is easier to conceive than express the consternation of the Mahommedans on the surrender of Cordova. That city had long been the capital of their empire in Spain. Its grandeur and vast

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\* Cardonne, tom. 3. p. 96.

population have been already described, and though with the waning strength of its possessors its splendour had gradually declined, yet it was still large, populous, and opulent; and the superstitious minds of many of the Arabians regarded the duration of their dominion as attached to its conservation. But the loss of Cordova was not the only misfortune which they had to lament. The King of Arragon having desolated the Province of Valentia, defeated the Emir, and made a considerable slaughter of his troops. After this success he laid siege to the city of Valentia, and was joined by a body of forces from France, under the conduct of Pierre Aimille, Bishop of Narbonne, and a troop of English cavaliers, whom the news of so important a siege had attracted into Spain. The Christians having received these reinforcements commenced their operations: the ditches were filled up, and the battering machines began to thunder against the walls, while the Moors, at the same time, were constructing new fortifications within the place. A fleet from Africa made an unsuccessful attempt to throw troops and provisions into the city; and after sustaining a long and terrible siege, and experiencing all the horrors of famine, the inhabitants of Valentia agreed to a capitulation, which gave them permission to retire with their effects.

After the capture of Cordova, the second marriage of Ferdinand, with the daughter of the Count de Ponthieu, was celebrated at Bourdeaux; and the operations of war were suspended by a season of festivity. The insolence of a factious and powerful subject summoned Ferdinand from the arms of his bride; but no sooner had that monarch vanquished and pardoned Don Diego de Haro then he took the field against the Mahommedans. After the affassination of Meutewekul-Ben-Houd, King of Grenada, Mehemmed-Abou-Said of the Arabian tribe of Alhamares, which had passed into Africa and from thence into Spain, at the time of the conquest, artfully induced the inhabitants of Jaen, Cadiz, and some other cities, to proclaim him their sovereign. Those of Grenada followed their example; and the new monarch fixed in that city the seat of his government. In order to establish his reputation among his subjects, Abou-Said sought an opportunity of wresting something from the Christians. On receiving intelligence that the governor of Martos, with all his garrison, was gone out to ravage the Moorish territories, the King of Grenada suddenly presented himself before that fortress. The governor's wife, a woman of courage and resolution, caused the gates to be shut, and prepared for a vigorous defence. All the females of the place,

animated by her example, mounted the ramparts, from whence they hurled stones and poured boiling pitch on the assailants, and fought with such resolution and vigour as to give time to the Christians to come to their succour. Abou-Said was obliged to make a disgraceful retreat, and soon after concluded a truce with the King of Castile and Leon. After its expiration hostilities recommenced. Ferdinand ravaged Andalusia; but his brother Alphonso was defeated by Abou-Said, in the territory of Grenada. Ferdinand soon after took the city of Arjona, and Alphonso having penetrated a second time into the kingdom of Grenada, laid siege to the capital. The King of Castile followed in person to direct the operations; but the advanced season compelled him to abandon the enterprise and return to Cordova. In the next campaign Ferdinand ravaged all the Moorish frontier, and carried fire and sword to the very walls of Grenada. Jaen, which had often resisted the arms of the Christians, was invested; but the natural and artificial strength of the place, with the valour of its garrison, rendered the siege extremely difficult. And the King of Castile was beginning to despair of success, when a fortunate incident gave to the enterprise a favourable termination.

A formidable revolt had taken place at Grenada; and Abou-Said, whose life was in

danger among his rebellious subjects, was compelled to seek refuge in the camp of his enemy. He conjured Ferdinand to undertake his defence; and a treaty was concluded, by which Abou-Said engaged to deliver the city of Jaen, and do homage for the kingdom of Grenada to the King of Castile, to join with his troops the standard of that monarch in time of war, and to cede to him half of his revenue. On these conditions Ferdinand, after taking possession of Jaen, furnished Abou-Said with a body of troops against his rebellious subjects; and a Christian army restored the Mahommedan Prince to his throne.

This event was of the greatest importance to the Christian cause in Spain. Ferdinand having nothing to fear from the King of Grenada, but, on the contrary, being able to command his assistance against the other Mahommedan Princes, resolved to turn his arms against Seville. That city, situated in the midst of a fertile plain, watered by the Guadalquiver, and diversified by numerous corn fields and vineyards, comprised, within its walls, twenty-four thousand Arabian families of twenty-three different tribes. The luxuriant fertility of the surrounding country, as well as the purity of the air, had recommended it successively to the natives and the conquerors of Spain. It had been founded, in a remote age, by the Phœnicians, and afterwards extended

and embellished by the Romans: it had been the residence of the Gothic Kings before they removed their court to Toledo; and on the fall of the Omniades of Spain, it became a separate kingdom. This was the state of Seville when Ferdinand undertook to reduce it once more under the domination of the Christians. The Moorish King, foreseeing the attack, made formidable dispositions for resistance. He collected a great number of horses, and prodigious quantities of arms, ammunition, and provision. The bravest of his subjects took arms, and numerous bodies of the Arabians of Africa came to the assistance of their brethren in Spain. Ferdinand also made immense preparations for an enterprise of which he foresaw the difficulties as well as the importance. Thirteen large ships and several of inferior size were constructed and equipped, under the direction of Raymond Boniface, one of the most skilful naval commanders of the age. Though the most considerable of the vessels would, in modern times, have been regarded with contempt, yet their bulk was sufficient, in that age, to excite the admiration of the Christians and strike the Mahomedans with terror. The armament was not only sanctified by the blessings of the clergy, but promoted by their liberality; and one-third of their revenues was readily granted for the holy pur-

pose of breaking the power of the Infidels. On the 20th August, 1247, the King of Castile and Leon presented himself before Seville, and invested the city by land, while his fleet formed the blockade of the river, and prevented the entrance of any supplies from Africa. The besieged made vigorous sorties and several desperate but ineffectual attempts to burn the blockading fleet. At length, however, they succeeded in destroying the works of the besiegers and burning their battering machines. Sickness began to make direful ravages in the besieging army : the Spaniards began to be discouraged by the difficulties and length of the siege ; and Ferdinand himself began to be doubtful of the success of his enterprise. Such was the state of things when Abou-Said, King of Grenada, on being summoned by Ferdinand to join the Castilian standard, in pursuance to the treaty concluded at Jaen, arrived at the camp with a select body of troops. This reinforcement revived the hopes of the Christians ; but the inhabitants of Seville beheld with indignation and horror the banners of Christ and Mahommed displayed in the same camp, and combined for their destruction. Though assailed by the disciples of the prophet, as well as by the hosts of the Christians, they made a long and glorious resistance. The autumn was consumed

in bloody but indecisive attacks; and the people of Seville might have expected that the inclemency of the winter would compel the besiegers to retire from their walls. But Ferdinand was resolved to make himself master of the city, and his indefatigable care surmounted every difficulty. A constant supply of provisions was poured into his camp, which had the appearance of an immense city stretching over the plain; and the plenty which reigned in the army of the besiegers was equal to the scarcity which prevailed among the besieged.

The return of spring inspiring the troops with fresh ardour, the siege was pushed with redoubled vigour, and the difficulty of a close blockade suggested a new plan of operations. The vast circuit of Seville rendered it almost impossible to prevent, at all times, the entrance of convoys. The Christian Admiral formed the bold design of breaking the bridge of boats constructed across the Guadalquiver, and of cutting off by that means the communication between the city and the suburb of Triana. The undertaking, though difficult, was successfully accomplished. A general assault was soon after made on the city: the Christians scaled the walls and overwhelmed all that opposed them; till the inhabitants, pressing to the point of attack, with a courage unimpaired by famine and unshaken

by danger, repulsed the assailants. The conflict was long and sanguinary; but at length the continued efforts of the besieged compelled the Christians to retire with great loss. Famine, in the mean while, began to increase to an alarming degree in the city; and the inhabitants seeing no hopes of relief, were convinced of the impossibility of much longer resistance. After some negotiation, they agreed to a capitulation dictated by the victor: the citizens were permitted to retire with their property: the towns of St. Lucar Niebla and Aznal Farach were left to the Moors: Seville and all the other cities belonging to the kingdom were delivered to the Christians. On the 22d December, 1248, after a siege of sixteen months, Ferdinand made his triumphant entry into Seville, and most of the inhabitants, to the number of about one hundred thousand, disdaining to live under a Christian government, reluctantly abandoned the city. Some of them retired to the towns yet possessed by the Moors; but the greater number left Spain and passed over into Africa.

The Christians and the Moors being equally weary of the war, no event of importance took place till the year 1250, when Ferdinand again taking the field, made himself master of Medina Sidonia, and several other places. Having broken the strength of the Moors of Spain, he

conceived the design of carrying his arms into Africa. He solicited Henry III. of England, to join the splendid project ; but the refusal of that monarch did not prevent Ferdinand from pursuing his design. He urged the preparations with that indefatigable activity which had ever marked his character, and collected the most formidable fleet that had yet issued from the Christian ports of Spain. But the constitution of Ferdinand had been impaired by a life of incessant care and toil ; and the strength of his body no longer corresponded with the ardour of his mind, which, rising superior to indisposition, still retained its pristine vigour. Being exhausted by a dropsy, he prepared, like a Christian and a hero, to meet his approaching dissolution, and in his last moments exhibited an example of piety and fortitude. Of all the Christian monarchs, Ferdinand had given the severest blows to the Mahommedan empire in Spain. His memory was long revered by a grateful people ; and above four centuries after his death, his name was, at the solicitation of the King and states of Spain, inscribed by the Roman Pontiff in the list of Saints.

A. D. 1259.      The sceptre of Ferdinand descended to his son Alphonso, surnamed the Wise, an epithet which appears to refer to his academical attainments rather than to his supe-

rior skill in political affairs. The Arabians had introduced learning and science into Spain, while the rest of Europe was involved in ignorance and barbarism : the Christians had, in process of time, imitated their example and emulated their attainments ; and during the darkness of the middle ages, the Spaniards, notwithstanding the sanguinary wars in which they were constantly engaged, equalled, or rather surpassed most of their neighbours in literature. Alphonso had dedicated much of his time to scientific pursuits : he was one of the greatest mathematicians in Europe, and the tables which bear his name evince his skill in astronomy. But the errors of his administration, or the misfortunes by which he was assailed, have given rise to the observation that his attention to the heavens had caused him to neglect the earth. His reign, at least, was far less prosperous than might have been expected from the seemingly auspicious moment of his accession, when the brilliant successes of his predecessor had so completely humbled the enemies of his crown. Ferdinand had held out to his subjects the splendid hope that the throne of Fez and Morocco, which the disciples of Mahommed had erected in Africa, was to be subverted by the swords of the Christians ; and the fervour of religious enthusiasm had supported them under their accumulated

burdens, while the prospect of plunder animated the spirits of the soldiery. But the Spaniards beheld, with indignation, the African expedition abandoned, and the royal revenues expended by their sovereign in a vain competition for the imperial crown of Germany.

The successes of Alphonso against the Moors of Spain shed a considerable degree of lustre on the first years of his reign. Xeres, Arcos, and Lebrixa, opened their gates to the Christians. Two years after these successes, Alphonso made an excursion into Algarva, where he seized on several towns and fortresses, which belonged to different Arabian chiefs. Mehemet-Abou-Said, King of Grenada, had served Ferdinand as his vassal, and had joined his standard at the siege of Seville : he also renewed the treaty with Alphonso, who, notwithstanding, invaded his territories. This violent infractions induced Abou-Said to form an alliance with the King of Murcia, and to solicit his aid. Alphonso was, at the same time, preparing to take the field, but was anticipated by the two Moorish Kings of Grenada and Murcia, who made themselves masters of Xeres, Arcos, Medina Sidonia, St. Lucar, and Ronda. On this occasion Don Garcias de Gomez, governor of the Citadelle of Xeres, displayed an uncommon example of daring courage. When all the soldiers, who

composed his small garrison, were killed or wounded, he alone, for a considerable time, sustained all the efforts of the assailants. The Moors, struck with admiration of his valour, resolved to save his life : they contrived to drag him, by means of grappling hooks, from the rampart, and humanely cured him of his wounds.

Alphonso hearing of the successes of the enemy, entered the kingdom of Grenada, destroyed several towns, and rendered the country a scene of desolation. The two Kings, pressed on all sides by the arms of the Christians, renewed their application at the court of Morocco, but all the succours they were able to obtain consisted only of a few light troops ; and the King of Castile recovered all the places which they had taken. A groundless report, however, was circulated that an innumerable army was coming from Africa. The Kings of Castile and Arragon were equally alarmed, and in order to resist the common danger, entered into a strict alliance. The King of Arragon turned his arms against Murcia, and took several places by assault or by capitulation, while Alphonso again desolated the territory of Grenada. The Moors implored, in vain, the assistance of Africa ; and Abou-Said seeing himself reduced to extremity, entered into a negotiation with the King of Castile. A treaty was concluded on terms dictated by the victor.

The King of Grenada engaged not only to pay to Alphonso an annual tribute of two hundred and fifty thousand crowns, but also to join his forces to those of Castile, in order to effect the conquest of the kingdom of Murcia.

After this advantageous treaty, Alphonso presented himself before the city of Murcia, which  
A. D. 1266. being destitute of all hope of succour, was obliged to surrender to the arms of the Christians. The reigning King was deposed, and his brother Mehemmed-Aben-Hout was placed on the throne by Alphonso, under the condition of rendering homage and paying one-third of his revenues to the crown of Castile.

Till this period the reign of Alphonso had been gilded with the sunshine of success; but domestic troubles and disappointed ambition afterwards cast over it a melancholy gloom. The rebellion of his brother, the Infant Don Philip, who, with his adherents, took refuge in the court of Grenada, was a disagreeable rather than a dangerous event; and after some time a reconciliation took place. But the disappointment of his hopes of ascending the imperial throne of Germany was, to Alphonso, a subject of serious regret. He had lavished his wealth in the vain pursuit: his coffers were drained by the avidity of the German Princes, whose sup-

port he had expected; and after having consumed, in this wild project, the treasures which might have enabled him to effect the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, his hopes were finally extinguished by the election of Rhodolph of Hapsburg, the founder of the imperial House of Austria.

While Alphonso, at a great distance from his dominions, was consuming in Germany his time and his treasures, the King of Grenada seized the favourable opportunity of throwing off the yoke of Castile, and invoked for this purpose the aid of the King of Morocco, who already revolved, in his mind, the conquest of Spain. The African monarch equipped a numerous fleet, on board of which he embarked a formidable army, and having cast anchor in the Bay of Gibraltar, took possession of the fortresses of Tariff and Algeiras, which had been ceded to him by his ally the King of Grenada. With an army of seventeen thousand cavalry, and a proportionate number of infantry, he ravaged the country between the Guadalquiver and the Guadiana. Don Nugnez de Lara, who was then in Ecija, rushed forth at the head of his troops to encounter the invader; but being oppressed by superior numbers, his rash effort only procured him a glorious death; and his head was sent by the King of Morocco as a trophy to his ally of

Grenada.\* With the same temerity and the same fortune, Don Sancho, Archbishop of Toledo, engaged the forces of the King of Grenada, who was destroying all with fire and sword in the neighbourhood of Jaen. Having levied an army at Toledo, Madrid, Guadalaxara, and Talavera, he marched into Andalusia; and on his arrival in that province, determined immediately to attack the enemy. In vain the principal officers of his army advised him to wait till a junction could be formed with Don Lopez de Haro, who was following with a strong reinforcement. The Archbishop unwilling to share with another the glory of the action, rejected their counsel, and gave battle to the King of Grenada. But the valour of the martial prelate could not atone for his imprudence: he perished in the conflict; and his army was totally routed.† Don Lopez de Haro arrived immediately after the action, and charged the Moors; but the approach of night prevented him from retrieving the misfortune of the day.

The affairs of the Christians at this juncture wore a very unfavourable aspect. The arrival

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\* Cardone, vol. 3. p. 130.

† Cardonne says that the Archbishop fell alive into the hands of the enemy, and that the Moors of Africa and those of Spain quarrelling for the possession of so distinguished a prisoner, the prelate lost his life in the contest. Cardonne, vol. 3. p. 132.

of the King of Morocco in Spain, and the success which at first had attended his arms had excited a general ferment among the Mahomedans. Those of Valentia revolted against Don Jaime or Jacomo, King of Arragon, who, in attempting to reduce them to subjection, had the misfortune to see his armies beaten by the rebels, and is said to have died of grief after a long and glorious reign, in which he had been victorious in thirty battles over the Moors.

A.D. 1276. Ferdinand de la Cerda, eldest son of Alphonso, no sooner received intelligence of the defeat and distress of the Christians in Andalusia, than he prepared to march into that province at the head of the chivalry of Castile. His death, at that critical juncture, opened to his brother Sancho the career of ambition and glory. That Prince assumed the command of the army, and deriving instruction from the recent defeats of the Christians, harrassed the enemy with desultory attacks, but carefully avoided a battle. By a train of skilful manœuvres he insensibly weakened the Moors; and the King of Grenada being compelled to retire from the walls of Jaen, the sovereign of Morocco concluded a truce and returned to Africa.

At the return of Alphonso from Germany the truce had expired; and that monarch immedi-

ately conceived the design of making himself master of Algeiras. The siege was conducted by his son, the Infant Don Pedro, who invested the place by land and by sea. The enterprize, however, proved unsuccessful : the Christian fleet was beaten by that of Morocco ; and Don Pedro was obliged to raise the siege.

But Alphonso was doomed to experience still greater misfortunes. The popular applause which followed the successes of Sancho favoured his hopes of royalty ; and in his impatience to ascend the throne, he made no scruple of violating the duties of a son and a subject. In the vain pursuit of an imperial crown Alphonso had exhausted the revenues of his kingdom ; and the exigencies of the state, joined to his own imprudence, compelled him to adopt the most dangerous expedients for recruiting his coffers. The discontents of the people were favourable to the views of Don Sancho : he summoned an assembly of the states at Valladolid ; and having painted, in glowing colours, the distresses of the kingdom, he was invested with the royal authority under the title of Regent.

This event produced a civil war of two years duration. The daring spirit of Don Sancho had rendered him the idol of the army, and his unbounded liberality had endeared him to the people. The most considerable cities of Castile

and Leon opened to him their gates, and the principal nobles espoused his cause. Alphonso being informed of the resolution of the council of Valladolid, and the almost universal defection of his subjects, invoked the aid of the King of Morocco. That Mahommedan Prince was induced, by compassion or policy, to arm in support of a Christian monarch, and at the head of an army passed over into Spain. Soon after his arrival the two Kings had an interview, in which they concerted a plan of operations ; and the adherents of Alphonso united with the forces of Morocco in the siege of Cordova. The valour of the garrison and the inhabitants baffled all the efforts of the besiegers : they grew weary of the tedious enterprize ; and the arrival of Don Sancho obliged the King of Morocco to retire into Africa, after his ineffective alliance had rendered Alphonso still more obnoxious to his Christian subjects.

But in that age the successors of St. Peter were in the zenith of their power ; and Alphonso derived from the authority of the Roman Pontiff that advantage which he had erroneously expected from the arms of the African monarch. Sancho was menaced with the thunders of the Vatican, which he dreaded much more than the crimes of war ; and he resolved to avert their effects by submission. He solicited and obtained

A. D. 1284. pardon from his father; and the death of Alphonso, which happened soon after, established the authority of Sancho over the realms of Castile and Leon.

The new monarch was no sooner seated on his throne than his presence was required in the field. The King of Morocco made another attempt on Spain, and presented himself before Xeres; but the determined valour of the garrison and the inhabitants rendered his project abortive. Sancho had early acquired the surname of Brave, and he showed that his prudence was equal to his courage. Relying on the strength and fidelity of the besieged city, he remained with his army at Seville without venturing to hazard a battle, which might have proved fatal to his kingdom. At length, after a siege of six months, the Miramolin of Morocco, losing all hope of gaining possession of Xeres, raised the siege and retired into Africa. His retreat was conducted without order, and effected with difficulty: it might probably have been cut off by the Christians, who had anticipated the destruction of the Infidel host; but the success of Sancho was interrupted by intestine commotions, which endangered his throne, and diminished the advantages which his kingdom derived from the martial abilities of its monarch.

In the elevation of Sancho to the throne of the united kingdom of Castile and Leon, the rights of the Infants de la Cerda, the sons of his elder brother Ferdinand, had been totally disregarded. The last will of Alphonso had bequeathed to his younger son, Juan, the cities of Seville and Badajoz, with their appendages : but Sancho having convened an assembly of the states, represented the separation of these cities from the monarchy as injurious both to himself and the state, and positively declared his resolution to resist every claim that might tend to dismember the kingdom.

Don Juan resolved to assert his pretensions by arms; and was supported by his father-in-law, Don Lopez de Haro, one of the most illustrious and powerful nobles of Castile. The standard of revolt was erected, and the numerous vassals of the family of Haro obeyed the summons of their chief. But the conspirators having consented to an interview with the sovereign, whom they had insulted, the King required that Don Lopez should deliver up his fortresses. To this demand the haughty subject answered by the expressive menace of clapping his hand on the hilt of his sword. His insolence was the signal of his death, a number of nobles, jealous of the dignity of their sovereign, started from

their seats and plunged their weapons in the breast of the daring rebel. Don Juan, who witnessed the fate of his accomplice, was immediately seized and immured in a prison.

The fate of these chiefs did not extinguish the flame of rebellion. The brother and the son of Don Lopez de Haro escaped from the territory of Castile, and prevailed on the King of Arragon to support the claims of the Infants de la Cerda. The greatest part of the Province of Andalusia was influenced by Don Diego de Haro to declare in their favour : and their numerous adherents joined to the forces of Arragon composed an army of a hundred thousand men. But the courage of Sancho rose superior to danger ; and the small number of his troops was compensated by his vigour and activity. He marched with promptitude to meet the King of Arragon, who retired at his approach ; and Sancho closely following his steps, ravaged his territories as far as the Ebro. The reduction of Badajoz extinguished the revolt ; but the massacre of the inhabitants, after their surrender by capitulation, reflects no small dishonour on the memory of Sancho, who encouraged or permitted so flagrant a violation of the laws of war.

Having chastised his rebellious subjects and restored the internal tranquillity of his kingdom, the King of Castile turned his arms against his

foreign and natural enemies. Jousouf, who had recently succeeded to the throne of Morocco, had made preparations for the invasion of Spain; but his naval armament being totally defeated by the fleet of Castile, aided by the squadrons of Genoa, his design was rendered abortive. Sancho resolving to improve this advantage, immediately invested the fortress of Tariff, which was seated on an eminence at a small distance from Gibraltar; and after a long siege he wrested that important place from the hands of the Infidels.

2. A. D. 1692.

This conquest, however, was, in a short time, in great danger of being lost. The magnanimity of the King of Castile had prompted him to release his brother Don Juan from his tedious confinement. But four years of imprisonment had not subdued the ambitious spirit of that Prince, who was no sooner restored to freedom than he again erected the standard of revolt, and was soon joined by a band of desperate adventurers. But the approach of the King dissolved the confederacy; and Don Juan sought an asylum in the court of Morocco. He implored the assistance of the African monarch, and was intrusted with the command of an army which he landed in Andalusia, and laid siege to the fortress of Tariff. But all the efforts of the Moors were rendered ineffectual by the valour and vigilance

of the garrison and the heroism of the governor, Don Alonzo de Guzman, who, by a singular act of magnanimous patriotism, rendered his name immortal. His son had fallen into the hands of the Moors, who exposed him in chains under the walls of Tariff, with the painful admonition that nothing but the surrender of the fort could ransom his life. On this trying occasion, Don Guzman, silencing the voice of nature, discovered not the least emotion, and only replied, that the fear of losing his son, the chief of his earthly comforts, would never induce him to forfeit his honour and betray his country. The Moors, exasperated by his firmness, immediately dispatched the unfortunate youth. Such is the fact as simply related by the most accredited historians. More florid writers have variously embellished the tale: they have made Don Juan the sole actor in this horrible tragedy, and have even asserted that, with his own hand, he plunged the dagger into the bosom of young Guzman. Don Juan, indeed, had the chief command; and the atrocious act could not have happened without his approbation or his permission. The Moors despairing of the reduction of a place defended by a governor of so undaunted a resolution, raised the siege, and having delivered Algeiras to the King of Grenada, they returned into Africa. Don Juan, not daring to shew

himself before the King of Morocco after the failure of an enterprize of which he had represented the success as indisputable, took refuge in the court of Grenada.

During eleven years that Sancho had reigned over Castile and Leon, foreign war and domestic commotion had scarcely ever permitted him to lay aside his armour. His constitution at length sunk under the weight of incessant toil and care. He plainly perceived that his dissolution was rapidly approaching, and his chief concern was to secure the succession of his son Ferdinand, whose feeble age was exposed to the factions which had long agitated the kingdom. In a national assembly he procured the ratification of his will, which named Ferdinand as his successor, and appointed his Consort, Maria, to the regency. Having settled, in a satisfactory manner, his temporal affairs, Sancho expired  
A.D. 1503. at Toledo, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the twelfth of his reign, which had been a continued series of warfare against foreign and domestic enemies. He was stern and imperious; but magnanimous and liberal: his daring valour in the field was the theme of public applause: his prudence in council was not less conspicuous: ambition was the principal blemish in his character: but his consolatory letter to the brave and unfortunate Don Gusman, on the loss of his son,

shewed that he was neither ungrateful to his friends, nor destitute of feeling.

The accession of Ferdinand revived the factions which had been suppressed by the vigorous measures of his predecessor. A turbulent nobility, who had often revolted against a warlike monarch, could not be controlled by the authority of a child, scarcely ten years of age, and the government of an inexperienced female. The pretensions of Don Juan were revived and supported by the Moors; but the restitution of his honour and estates purchased, for a while, his allegiance. The powerful Houses of Haro and Lara renewed their turbulence, but were reconciled by concessions: some towns on the frontier were given up to preserve peace with Portugal; and in order to avoid a civil war, Maria, with great prudence and magnanimity, resigned the regency to Henry, the third son of Ferdinand, surnamed the Saint.

This Prince, whose early life had been a scene of erratic and unfortunate adventures, found but little satisfaction in the possession of his new dignity. The clouds of civil and foreign war gathered on every side, and the throne of Ferdinand was shaken to its very foundation by the tempest. A formidable league had been concerted by the Kings of France, Arragon, and Portugal, in support of Don Alphonso de la

Cerda, the grandson of Alphonso X. the claims of that Prince were also espoused by the King of Grenada, who hoped to profit by the dissensions of the Christians ; while the promise of the kingdom of Leon induced Don Juan to join in the confederacy for dethroning his nephew.

The confederates, however, had the mortification of seeing their plans disconcerted, and their hopes completely frustrated by their own mismanagement. Alphonso de la Cerda was proclaimed King of Castile by the armies of Portugal and Arragon ; and had he pressed forward to the capital, he might probably have crushed the feeble Ferdinand, who was unprepared for resistance. But, instead of that decisive step, he was persuaded to consume his time in attempting the reduction of the town of Majorga : the length of the siege exhausted the patience of the allies, while the ravages of an epidemic disease diminished their numbers and caused them to abandon their enterprize. But on the opposite frontier affairs took a less favourable turn. The troops of Grenada ravaged the fertile Province of Andalusia : and the Regent, having taken the field for the purpose of checking their progress, was defeated in battle. The genius of Henry now appeared wholly inadequate to his station ; and his pusillanimity impelled him to sign a treaty of peace, by which Tariff was to

be surrendered to the King of Grenada. But the Queen Dowager exclaimed, with indignation, against the ignominious condition: her magnanimous spirit was applauded by the states of the kingdom, who being convened in a national assembly, determined to prefer the chance of war to an inglorious peace.

The incapacity of Henry for the affairs of government was now universally acknowledged; and the Queen Dowager rose in proportion as the Regent sunk in the public opinion. Under her auspices a peace was concluded with the court of Lisbon, and confirmed by the double marriage of Ferdinand and his sister with the daughter and son of the King of Portugal; and the Moors were repulsed from the walls of Jaen.

In treating with the King of Arragon, Maria displayed the same magnanimity as in the question of the cession of Tariff to the Moors. That Prince, after recruiting his army, again took the field, and, having ravaged Murcia, made himself master of the maritime city of Alicant. But intestine commotions recalling the King of Arragon to guard his own throne, he offered to evacuate all his other conquests on condition that Alicant should remain in his possession. His ambassadors were astonished at the spirited reply of the Queen Dowager, that

the restoration of all the places which he had seized could alone be admitted as the basis of peace.

In order to compel the King of Arragon to subscribe the conditions which she had dictated, Maria called into action the whole power of the nation; and the train of nobles that accompanied her to Valladolid supported her interests. Don Juan, impressed with fear, abandoned the hope of reigning over Leon, and renewed his oath of fidelity to his sovereign: and the death of the Regent delivered Maria from an intriguing rival and faithless associate. But at the moment when her administration appeared undisturbed by factious competition, her power was undermined in the manner that she least expected. The King, her son, was persuaded by the enemies of Maria to assume the reigns of government; but the weakness of his conduct shewed how much he still needed her control. Against her advice, and in spite of her expostulations, he accepted the King of Portugal as umpire between himself and the King of Arragon: the decision was such as she had foreseen and foretold: the Segura, which intersects the Province of Murcia, was fixed on as the boundary between their dominions, and the country to the north of that river, with the important city of Alicant, was dissevered from the king-

dom of Castile. The pretensions of the Infants de la Cerda were satisfied by the cession of certain towns, the revenues of which afforded them a princely maintenance. But the spirit of faction could not be entirely extinguished : the turbulence of Don Juan, and of the powerful families of Haro and Lara, frequently menaced the tranquillity of the kingdom.

The reign of Ferdinand presents little more than a series of domestic discord and traitorous intrigue : one event, however, gives it a mark of distinction in history. In a moment of internal tranquillity, Ferdinand having embraced the opportunity of marching against the enemies of his religion and country, surprised the fortress of Gibraltar, which had been possessed by the Mahommedans ever since A. D. 1310. their conquest of Spain. But having failed in an attempt on Algeiras, he listened to the overtures of the King of Grenada, and, in consideration of a sum of money, concluded a peace with that monarch.

About this time the persecution of the knights templars engaged the attention of Europe. Their guilt is questionable ; and there is great reason to suspect that their opulence was their principal crime. In France many of them were tortured to death, without any evidence of guilt, and even

without the formality of trial : and throughout Europe the order was dissolved by the decree of the Roman Pontiff ; and its immense possessions were transferred to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. A greater degree both of equity and policy prevailed in the councils of Spain : the charges against the order were examined with impartiality ; and the knights were acquitted by the voice of their judges. This honourable decision could only vindicate their reputation : the decree of the Roman See, for the dissolution of the order, was irresistible. But the States General of Spain, representing their own situation like that of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, exposed to a perpetual warfare with the disciples of Mahommed, were permitted to retain the spoils of the templars, in order to be better enabled to carry on the crusade against their Infidel neighbours.

A. D. 1312. The death of Ferdinand, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign, left the crown of Castile and Leon to his infant son Alphonso XI. The minority of the young King revived the spirit of faction ; and in order to prevent a civil war between his two uncles, Don Juan and Don Pedro, they were joined in the regency. Maria was yet alive ; and although she declined the invidious office of Regent, of which she had fully

experienced the troubles and cares, yet she consented to watch over the education of her grandson, and employed her declining years in forming his mind.

Don Juan and Don Pedro found that the regency, which had been the object of their ambition, was not an office of indolent repose. Soon after the conclusion of peace between Ferdinand and the Moors, Muley Mehemed, King of Grenada, was assassinated, and that kingdom was convulsed with civil wars and successive revolutions. Azar, his younger brother, and chief of the conspirators, seized the crown, but was soon after expelled by the citizens of Grenada, who placed on the throne Ismael, the son of one of the sisters of the late monarch. Amidst the confusion created by the contending parties Azar implored the aid of Castile. The Regent, Don Pedro, took the field, and having completely defeated the forces of Ismael, ravaged the country to the gates of Grenada. In the ensuing year, Ismael seeing himself unable to resist the arms of the Christians, had recourse to the King of Morocco; and, in order to engage his assistance, ceded to that Prince Algeiras, Amiada, and several other places of importance.

On receiving this intelligence, the two Regents, Don Juan and Don Pedro, resolved, by

vigorous measures, to anticipate the designs of the enemy. Collecting the whole force of Castile, they divided their army, and entered on two different sides the Moorish dominions. Don Pedro opened the campaign with the siege and capture of Tiscar, and Don Juan, at the same time, advanced towards the capital. The two royal brothers having united their forces, the Castilian host ravaged the open country, and appeared before the walls of Grenada. Having remained two days in order of battle, within sight of the city, without being able to draw out the Moors to hazard an action, the two Princes began their retreat. Don Juan led the van, and Don Pedro conducted the rear. The King of Grenada, in the mean while, having previously arranged his measures, issued out of the city at the head of his own forces and those of Morocco, in order to harass the retreat of the Christians, who, being exposed to the rays of the burning sun, without having made any provision of water, were so exhausted by heat and thirst as to be scarcely able to carry their arms. The King of Grenada did not let slip so favourable an opportunity : he made a furious attack on the rear of the Castilians : the van came to its support, and the conflict became general. The two Regents, in order to reanimate their fainting troops, rushed into the ranks of the enemy and

immediately perished. Mariana, whose account of this affair is credulously adopted by Cardonne, says that Don Juan and Don Pedro, although desperately fighting amidst the thickest battalions of the enemy, fell, entirely exhausted by heat, thirst, and fatigue, without having received a wound; and that the death of these two Princes was all the loss that was sustained by the Christians. But the tale is completely absurd and incredible. It might gratify national vanity, but cannot command belief. From the circumstances of the action, it appears evident that the Regents were involved in the general carnage of the Castilians. A remnant of the army escaped under cover of the night; and the calamities of war were retaliated on the vanquished party. The King of Grenada, after making himself master of Guisear, took Martos by storm; and the inhabitants were put to the sword or carried into slavery. But this success proved fatal to the conqueror. Among the captives taken at Martos, a young woman of extraordinary beauty fell into the hands of the governor of Algeiras. But while he congratulated himself on the possession of so valuable a prize, he saw himself obliged to resign her to the King of Grenada. From that moment he determined to sacrifice to his vengeance the tyrant who had treated him with such flagrant

injustice, and having formed a conspiracy with Osman, the commander of the army, the assassins entered the royal palace, and plunged their daggers in the breast of the monarch. But the presence of mind and address of the governor of the city preserved the crown to Mehemmed, the son of Ismael : amidst the acclamations of the people he was proclaimed King of Grenada, and the conspirators escaped punishment by a precipitate flight.

While the Moors were ravaging the territories of the Christians, and the fertile fields of Andalusia were converted into a desert, the kingdoms of Castile and Leon were distracted by faction and anarchy. The death of the two Regents had opened a new field of dissention ; and their office was claimed by four powerful competitors. These were Don Philip, uncle to the King, Don Juan Emanuel, who had married the daughter of the King of Arragon, and commanded on the frontiers of Murcia, Don Juan, son of the late Regent of the same name, and who, from the loss of an eye in his infancy, was distinguished by the epithet of the deformed, and Don Alphonso de la Cerda, who, after being defeated in his pretensions to the crown, now preferred his claims to the regency : each of these was supported by a numerous train of vassals and adherents, and each was indifferent to the means

by which he might accomplish his aim. Equally disregarding the conciliatory counsels of the prudent Maria and the thunders of the Papal See, which interposed to repress their discord, the rival Princes exerted every engine of force and fraud to attain the object of their ambition.

But amidst this scene of contention, the phantom which led them astray suddenly vanished. Alphonso, whose understanding far surpassed his age, having attained his fifteenth year, proclaimed his intention of assuming the reins of government. The distracted state of the kingdom was favourable to his design, and in a general assembly at Valladolid his authority was recognised.

The vision of a regency had now disappeared, and the hopes of the competitors might have been supposed to have expired. But the spirit of intrigue and factious ambition was not yet extinguished, nor social order restored. Alphonso was constantly harrassed by the intrigues of Don Emanuel and Don Juan the deformed; and his subjects were every where exposed to the depredations of robbers. Throughout the country large bodies of banditti violated the public peace, and in contempt of laws, levied contributions not only on individuals but on towns and cities. To repress these disorders, Alphonso, with a small corps of disciplined troops, flew from

province to province, explored the retreats of the robbers in the forests and mountains, and condemned such as were seized to immediate execution. But while the King was thus endeavouring to establish public security, the needy and desperate found a refuge with Don Juan the deformed; and the number of daring adventurers who flocked to the standard of that Prince enabled him to brave the authority of the sovereign. The most vigorous measures were necessary, and Alphonso determined to deliver himself from this factious and enterprising Prince by one decisive although dishonourable blow. He proposed to give him, in marriage, his sister Elenora; and Don Juan, allured by this splendid offer, having accepted the invitation of his King to an interview, was assassinated in the royal apartments. Alphonso did not hesitate to avow the orders which he had issued for that purpose: he represented Don Juan as a criminal too great for the laws, and declared that his death alone could have prevented an immediate and dangerous civil war.

But the tragical expedient failed of producing public tranquillity. One factious chief had fallen; but others still remained. Don Emanuel heard of the assassination of Don Juan; and his mind was filled with apprehensions of a similar fate. Resolving to anticipate the danger, he

concluded a private treaty with the King of Grenada, against whom his sword had been successfully employed, and obtained from his father-in-law, the King of Arragon, a promise of support. Trusting in his alliances and the number of his vassals, he openly erected the standard of revolt; and with the forces, which he could hastily raise, he laid waste the frontiers of Castile. Such are the evils which the people often suffer from the contentions of the great.

But the spirit of Alphonso was not to be braved with impunity, either by domestic or foreign enemies. He immediately took the field, and both by land and sea his arms were triumphant. The Moorish squadrons were defeated by the fleets of Castile: the cities of Zamora and Toro, which had revolted, were quickly reduced and severely punished; and Don Alvaro Nugnez Osorio, who had enjoyed and abused the confidence of his King, was stabbed by his command in the midst of his vassals and retainers. While the vigorous measures of Alphonso struck terror into traitors and enemies, he was careful to conciliate the neighbouring powers, and to form beneficial alliances: the new King of Arragon was prevailed on to abandon the cause of Don Emanuel; and the marriage of the Castilian monarch, with the daughter of the King of Portugal, established a perfect harmony with the

court of Lisbon. No danger being now apprehended from without, Alphonso made such vast preparations for prosecuting the war against Grenada as threatened the total destruction of the Mahommedan power in Spain. The Moorish King resolving to ward off, by submission, the storm which threatened the subversion of his throne, agreed to the humiliating condition of vassalage to the crown of Castile, and the payment of an annual tribute of twelve thousand pieces of gold.

These stipulations, which had been extorted by fear, were violated as soon as the appearance of immediate danger had vanished. The King of Grenada, impatient to cast off the yoke of Castile, resolved to implore the succour of Africa. In person he crossed the straits and presented himself at the court of Morocco. He roused the ambition of Abi Haffan, who then swayed the African sceptre, by representing the facility of conquering Spain, a country divided among several sovereigns, without a centre of union, and convulsed by the factions of a turbulent nobility. The monarch of Fez and Morocco listened to the flattering proposal, and sent his son Abdulmeleck with a numerous body of cavalry and infantry. Gibraltar was, by the cowardice or treachery of the governor, betrayed into the hands of the Moors. Alphonso attempted

the recovery of that important place ; but while he pressed the siege, with the fairest prospect of success, he was recalled from the enterprise by a formidable revolt in the centre of his dominions. Don Alonzo, chief of the House of Haro, Don Juan de Lara, and Don Emanuel, had taken up arms, and rendered Castile a scene of slaughter and devastation. With reluctance and indignation Alphonso signed a treaty with the Moors, which left Gibraltar in their possession, and released the King of Grenada from the payment of tribute. The King of Castile then marched against the rebels, whom he quickly dispersed. Don Alonso de Haro was surprised in one of his castles, and led in chains before his sovereign, who ordered his immediate execution. The precipitate flight of Don Juan de Lara saved his life ; but his fortresses were reduced and his estates confiscated. A slight war with Navarre was successfully terminated ; and peace was concluded on conditions dictated by the King of Castile. The wisdom and moderation of Alphonso shone with distinguished lustre in his conduct towards the rebels. His whole reign had been harassed by the intrigues and revolts of Don Emanuel and Don Juan de Lara. They had frequently despised his power and abused his clemency : his arms had reduced them to the last degree of distress ; but he re-

solved to try them once more with an offer of pardon. All their hopes of resisting the power of their sovereign were extinguished: they accepted with gratitude the unexpected proposal. They were restored to their honours and estates; and from that period their loyalty and gratitude justified the magnanimous policy of the monarch. Their return to allegiance was followed by a general pacification among the Christian Princes of Spain; and the King of Castile at length found himself at leisure to march against the Moors of Grenada and Africa.

Abi Hassan, King of Morocco, having overwhelmed all opposition in Africa, made the most formidable preparations for the invasion of Spain, and established, at Algeiras and Malaga, immense magazines of arms, ammunition, and provisions. His son, Abdulmelek, who, after the conclusion of peace, had departed for Africa, again embarked for Spain, and having escaped the vigilance of the Christian fleet, effected a landing with a numerous body of troops. But the expedition proved fatal to its leader. For some time the Christians and the Mahommedans exercised their mutual rage in devastating the country with fire and sword. At length they commenced more decisive operations: Alphonso gained a victory over the Moors; and some time after Abdulmelek being unexpectedly

attacked, was involved in the general carnage of his army.

The death of the presumptive heir of the crown of Morocco diffused indignation and sorrow throughout Africa ; and the tears of his father could be dried up only by the hope of victory and vengeance. The Imans, by his order, preached throughout Africa, the indispensable duty of every Mussulman to take arms in the cause of his religion and country. The promise of Paradise, and the prospect of spoil, assembled the rapacious disciples of Mahommed ; and, in a short time, Abi Hassan found himself at the head of seventy thousand cavalry and four hundred thousand infantry.\* Two hundred and fifty transports and seventy galleys were employed, and five months were consumed in conveying this immense army to Europe. The Castilian fleet was stationed in the straits to oppose the passage of the enemy ; but the inferiority of its force rendered all its attempts ineffectual : it fought and was defeated : a few of the galleys escaped and ran into the port of Tariffa, and the Admiral of Castile perished in the action. The Africans, meeting with no further opposition, completed their disembarkations. The King of Morocco, accompanied by

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\* Cardonne, vol. 3. p. 174.

his wives, his children, and his whole court, brought up the rear of his army, and being joined by the King of Grenada, immediately commenced the siege of Tariffa.

This fortress being regarded as one of the bulwarks of Spain, Alphonso was justly alarmed at its danger. But the forces of Castile were unequal to the contest. He therefore employed his Queen to rouse the court of Lisbon to the common defence of christianity. The King of Portugal was convinced of the danger which threatened the whole peninsula; he listened to the solicitations of his daughter; and policy concurred with paternal affection in quickening his efforts to join the army of Castile at the head of his martial nobility. The combined army having rendezvoused at Seville, the danger of Tariffa demanded its immediate and most vigorous efforts. Twenty thousand cavalry and forty thousand infantry,\* confident in their valour, although so greatly inferior in number to the enemy, marched under the banners of the two monarchs of Castile and Portugal. On receiving intelligence of their approach, the Kings of Morocco and Grenada seized on the neighbouring heights, and in that advantageous position

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\* Cardonne says 14,000 cavalry and 25,000 infantry. Tom. 2. p. 177.

awaited the attack of the Christians. Toward evening the two armies were in sight of each other ; and as the day was too far spent for commencing the action, they remained all night under arms. On the following Monday, Nov. 3, 1340. day the small river Salsada acquired a distinguished celebrity by the memorable battle that was fought on its banks. The troops of Castile and Portugal, of Morocco and Grenada, were animated by the presence and example of their respective sovereigns, and fought with desperate bravery. It was long before any corps gave way ; but after a bloody conflict of several hours, victory at length declared for the Christians. Scarcely ever was an action more sanguinary, or a victory more complete. Of the Moors, two hundred thousand are said to have fallen in the battle or the pursuit.\* The estimate may be exaggerated ; and some historians reduce it to half that number ; but the carnage was undoubtedly immense, and almost incredible. Two sons of the King of Morocco were killed ; and that monarch himself was wounded. His favourite wife was taken ; and the Moorish camp, with all the riches which it contained, became the spoil of the Christians. The King of Morocco having fled with precipitation to

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\* Cardonne, tom. 2. p. 180.

Algeſiras, embarked for Africa; and the King of Grenada retreated to his capital. Alphonſo, after repairing the breaches of Tariffa, and reinforcing the garrifon, led back to Seville his victorious army, enriched with the ſpoils of the Moors and covered with glory.

In the enfuing campaigns the Chriſtians continued ſucceſſful by land and ſea. In 1342 the fleet of Caſtile defeated that of the Moors; and the two Admirals of Morocco and Grenada perished in the action. Theſe continued ſucceſſes encouraged Alphonſo to regard no enterpriſe as too difficult for his arms. He reſolved on the reduction of Algeſiras; but the ſiege of that place required ſome weighty preparations, as the fortifications were ſtrong and the garrifon numerous. The ſquadrons of Portugal and Arragon were brought to act in concert with thoſe of Caſtile, and blockaded the mouth of the harbour,\* in order to intercept all ſupplies from Africa, while Alphonſo inveſted the city by land. The King of Grenada, not daring to hazard a battle, attempted a diverſion by ravaging the environs of Eciſa, and deſtroying the city of Palma. But Alphonſo, regardless of his feeble operations, continued the ſiege with redoubled ardour. The battering rams, the baliſtas, and

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\* Cardonne, vol. 3. p. 184.

the catapults, were strenuously employed, the first in battering the walls, the two latter in discharging showers of arrows and stones on their defenders.\* Towers of wood were also constructed by the Christians and brought upon wheels to the walls; but the besieged, by means of burning pitch and other combustibles, set fire to these machines, and the work of many days was destroyed in an instant. The cannon of the Moors, according to some, the first that were seen in Spain, possessed an incalculable advantage over the military engines of the Christians, who heard with astonishment their tremendous explosions, and fatally experienced their destructive effects.†

The siege had continued many months: the patience of the auxiliaries was wearied: the magazines of the assailants were almost exhausted; and in the camp of the besiegers as well as in the city, the pressure of famine began to be felt. In order to satisfy the demands of his allies and relieve the distress of his troops, the King of Castile commanded his plate to be sent to the mint, and the value of the current coin to

\* For a description of these machines, vide Chevat. Folard Polyb. tom. 2. p. 223, &c.

† However surprising it may appear, it seems evident that the Moors had cannon sooner than the Spaniards. Vide Maracci and Dictionnaire de Furetierere at the word cannon.

be augmented. But the disgraceful and dangerous expedient was averted by the patriotism of the nation. Each province zealously contributed its proportion in provisions or money; and the Roman Pontiff displayed his liberality in pecuniary assistance. The besiegers were considerably reinforced by noble volunteers from England and France; and the King of Arragon, desirous of sharing the glory of this famous siege, repaired in person to the camp.

A civil war, excited in Morocco by the ambition of his son, had prevented Abi Hassan from attempting the relief of Algiras. But no sooner was the tranquillity of his dominions restored than his attention was turned towards the preservation of that important fortress. The circumstances of that age rendered Algiras the principal key of Spain: it was the port where all the debarkations from Africa took place; and in the hands of the Christians it would serve as a barrier against the future attempts of the Kings of Morocco. It is therefore no wonder that Abi Hassan resolved to make an effort for its preservation. A squadron of sixty galleys sailed from Africa, and having eluded the vigilance of the Christian fleet, landed a numerous body of troops at Gibraltar. The King of Castile was no sooner apprized of their arrival than he advanced to attack them, and gave them a total defeat.

This victory decided the fate of Algefiras. After a siege of a year and eight months the garrison, <sup>Much 26,</sup> being diminished by famine, sickness, <sup>A. D. 1344.</sup> and the sword, surrendered by capitulation. The soldiers and citizens were permitted to retire with their effects, and the Christian banners were displayed on the towers of this important fortress. A truce for ten years was concluded between the King of Castile and the monarchs of Africa and Grenada; and the daughters and other relatives of Abi Hassan, who had been taken at the battle of Salsado, and treated with the respect due to their rank, were dismissed by Alphonso with magnificent presents.

Ambition is a passion congenial to the bosom of conquerors, and it reigned with all its force in that of the King of Castile. But his ambition was directed by the most laudable views. The expulsion of the Moors from the peninsula was the grand object of the Castilian monarchs: not only the glory but the security of their Kingdom and the happiness of their subjects depended on its accomplishment. Four years of tranquility had scarcely elapsed before a new revolution in Africa furnished Alphonso with a favourable opportunity, as well as a specious pretext, for renewing the war. Abi Hassan, King of Morocco, having been dethroned by his son Abou-Hamou,

the King of Castile, regarded or pretended to regard himself as no longer bound by the treaty concluded with the deposed monarch. Wars, indeed, are often grounded on arguments equally feeble; and the reasoning was sufficiently logical for the easy conscience of Alphonso, whose pride was insulted by the Moorish banners streaming from the fortrefs of Gibraltar, which, during his reign, had been wrested from the hands of the Christians. The royal standard of Castile was again displayed, and the garrison of Gibraltar was summoned to surrender. But the enterprize proved fatal to Alphonso. While he urged, in person, and with his usual ardour, the siege of this important fortrefs, the plague broke out in his camp and made terrible ravages. No remonstrances could prevail on the King to retire from the scene of contagion and danger; and he fell a victim to his perseverance. He caught the infection, and died in the fortieth  
A.D. 1350. year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of a most glorious reign. The factions which had almost annihilated the power of the throne were broken by his prudence and vigour; and the foreign enemies of the kingdom were overwhelmed by his valour. The love of martial fame was his characteristic passion, and of all the Kings of Castile, that succeeded Ferdinand the Saint, he is the most entitled to admiration.

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## CHAP. IX.

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Reign of Peter the Cruel.—His tyranny.—Successful war against the Moors.—His treachery towards the King of Grenada.—Is expelled from the throne by his brother Henry of Castile.—Is restored by Edward the Black Prince.—His ingratitude to Edward.—Peter is defeated and afterwards murdered by Henry.—Reign of Henry.—His death.—Reign of John.—His wars with Portugal and England.—Reign of Henry III.—Confederacy of the nobles.—War with Portugal.—With the Rovers of Africa.—The Christians take Tetuan.—Henry prepares for expelling the Moors from Spain.—His death.—His character.—Turbulent reign of John II.—Desolating war between the Christians and the Moors.—Convulsions of Grenada.—Dreadful state of that kingdom from foreign wars and intestine commotions.—Civil wars in Castile.—Death of John II.—Reign of Henry IV.—Gibraltar surprised by the Christians.—Henry deposed in effigy.—Marriage of his sister Isabella to Ferdinand of Arragon.—Death of Henry.—Accession of Ferdinand and Isabella.—Union of the crowns of Leon, Castile, and Arragon.

ALPHONSO XI. was succeeded by his son Peter, from his sanguinary disposition, surnamed the Cruel. This Prince ascended the throne under the most favourable auspices. The haughty nobility had been awed into submission, and the power of the Moors was broken. The Christians, indeed, were discouraged by the death of their

King; and the pestilence, which daily thinned their ranks, compelled them to raise the siege of Gibraltar, and allow to the kingdom of Grenada time to recover after a series of disastrous wars and multiplied losses. But the Moors, instead of employing that lesson of misfortune, which the inaction of the Christians afforded, in augmenting the strength and resources of the country, narrallised it by scenes of intestine commotion, which only served to increase its debility.

The dangerous passions of Peter, and the vindictive spirit of the Queen Dowager, his mother, called as great disorders in the court and kingdom of Castile as the turbulent spirit of the Moors excited in Grenada. Alphonso had four illegitimate sons by his favourite mistress, the beautiful Donna Leonora de Gusman, the widow of Don Juan de Valasco. Sancho was remarkable only for his imbecillity; but Henry of Transtamare was conspicuous for those talents which enabled him to avenge the fate of his mother, and to ascend the throne of Castile. From the time of the battle of Salado, Alphonso is said to have abstained from all irregular intercourse with the fair Leonora; but he had not been inattentive to her future interest and honour. He had obliged the town of Medina Sidonia for her residence, and had not only strengthened it with new fortifications, but pro-

vided it with a numerous garrison. From this secure retreat she was infidiously drawn by the most solemn promises of safety and regard. But these professions were delusive ; and the palace of the Queen Dowager was disgraced by the execution of her former rival. Henry of Trastamare, by a timely flight, escaped an arrest, and through the mediation of the King of Portugal an apparent reconciliation took place between the sons of the unfortunate Leonora and the court of Castile.

Peter, in the mean while, gave full scope to his tyrannical passions. Rapacious and sanguinary, he considered the treasures and lives of his subjects as at his absolute disposal. Yet so long as the *grandees* were satisfied, the clamours of the multitude were disregarded ; but circumstances soon arose which induced the nobles to support and direct the general indignation.

His private marriage with Donna Maria Padilla proved the source of his misfortunes. The family of this lady was rather decent than splendid ; but nature, compensating the defects of her birth, had endowed her with exquisite beauty and the most brilliant accomplishments. These qualifications had given her an absolute ascendancy over the mind of her royal consort ; but his mother, the Queen Dowager, had negotiated a match between him and Blanch, the sister

of the Queen of France. Peter, for a moment, condescended to sacrifice his love to his policy : his authority imposed silence on Donna Padilla ; and he publicly celebrated his nuptials with the French Princess. But while Blanch participated his throne, Donna Padilla engrossed his affections, and the highest honours and promotions were lavished on her family. These measures gave umbrage to the nobility : Don Juan d'Albuquerque, the royal favourite, found that a rising power began to overshadow his own, and could not conceal his discontent. His murmurs soon reached the ears of his sovereign, and to avoid the royal indignation he took refuge in Portugal.

From that period the reign of Peter presents a headlong career of oppression, rapacity, and sanguinary caprice. The unfortunate Blanch was immured in a prison : an obsequious council of Bishops pronounced a sentence of divorce ; and Peter celebrated, with solemn pomp, his nuptials with Donna Joanna, the sister of Don Ferdinand de Castro. But Joanna soon experienced the fate of Blanch, and was repudiated within a few months after the marriage. These proceedings united the most opposite factions and interests in a combination against the sovereign. The pride of the family of Castro was wounded by the disgraceful treatment of Joanna :

Don Juan d'Albuquerque sought to overwhelm the family of Padilla : Henry of Transtamare, and his brothers Frederic and Tello, desired to avenge the blood of their mother ; and the Queen Dowager, indignant at the sufferings of Blanch, who had entered Spain under her auspices, joined the confederacy against her own son.

The unfortunate Blanch, escaping from her prison in Toledo, took sanctuary in the cathedral. The inhabitants, moved with compassion for her misfortunes, espoused her cause ; and Henry of Transtamare, being apprised of their revolt, repaired to that city, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people. Peter, in the mean while, prepared to extinguish the rebellion : the royal standard was erected in the city of Legovia ; and a formidable army was collected. The first attempt of the King was against Toro, which had also espoused the cause of Blanch ; and although he was repulsed from its walls he advanced with better fortune against Toledo. Having promised to bury their revolt in oblivion, and to recal Blanch to his bed and his throne, the inhabitants opened their gates ; but they soon had reason to repent of their credulity. Every condition was violated. A number of the principal citizens were executed ; and Blanch was confined to a prison at Siguenza. The suppression of this revolt was followed by a

a bloody war between Castile and Arragon. Henry of Transtamrae, after escaping from the wreck of the confederacy, served the King of Arragon with his sword, and after the conclusion of peace retired across the Pyrenees into France.

The authority of Peter now seemed to be confirmed, and his throne established no more to be shaken. But his vindictive cruelty and tyrannical oppression excited new storms which could not be so easily calmed. History presents a shocking display of his murders. Frederic, the brother of Henry, was assassinated in the hall of audience at Seville : Tello, the other brother, was fortunate enough to escape the sanguinary rage of the tyrant : Leonora, the King's aunt, was poisoned by the order of her unprincipled nephew : a Jew, the administrator of the finances, expired on the rack, convicted of no crime but his wealth, which was seized by the rapacious monarch ; and, to fill up the measure of Peter's iniquity, historians, with great probability, though perhaps without sufficient evidence, ascribe the death of the unfortunate Blanch to poison administered by his command. But while he paid no regard to the feelings of others, his own were terribly wounded by the death of his beloved Donna Maria Padilla. Yet sorrow did not soften his heart : wealth, virtue, and nobility

of birth, were equally fatal to their possessors ; and every moment presented some new instance of perfidy and cruelty.

During the first ten years that Peter reigned over Castile, the kingdom of Grenada had been the scene of various revolutions. Abou-Hadjad-Joufef-Ben-Nafir had been deposed and put to death ; and the crown placed on the head of his uncle, Abil-Gualid, who was the author of the revolt. Abil-Gualid in his turn soon saw himself precipitated from a throne which he had ascended by his crimes. Idris-Ben-Ofman, and the other chiefs of Grenada, conspired against him, and recognised his kinsman Mehemed for their sovereign. Abil-Gualid took refuge in the city of Ronda, which belonged to the King of Morocco ; and his cause was espoused by Castile, while Mehemed implored the succours of Arragon. After the conclusion of peace between the two latter powers, Abil-Gualid and the King of Castile carried on a destructive war against Grenada ; and the Christians and the Moors seemed to rival each other in desolating the frontiers of the two kingdoms. Abil-Gualid, with his Christian ally, penetrated to the walls of Grenada, without being able to terrify the inhabitants, or to produce any revolution in his favour. The Moors, in the mean while, were ravaging the environs of Jaen ; but while they

were returning laden with spoils, they were intercepted and totally defeated by the Archbishop of that city. But in the following year, 1361, they were more successful : a small body of three thousand Christians having made an attempt to surprise Cadiz, which they supposed to be defended by a feeble garrison, they fell into an ambuscade : the greatest part of the soldiers perished by the sword ; and the grand master of the order of Calatrava, with his principal officers, were carried prisoners to Grenada. Mehemmed, in order to propitiate the vengeance of Peter, dismissed the captives with magnificent presents ; but this act of generosity was far from appeasing the King of Castile, who, being at peace with Arragon, resolved to turn his whole force against Grenada.

In consequence of this resolution, Peter entered the Moorish territory, where he took several towns, reduced the villages to ashes, and committed all the barbarities which he supposed capable of terrifying the people into submission. Mehemmed seeing his kingdom desolated, and his capital agitated by factions, began to apprehend that the people regarding him as the cause of their calamities, might purchase peace by delivering him up to his adversary. In order, therefore, to avoid the dangers which threatened him on every side, he resolved to acknowledge

himself the vassal of the crown of Castile ; and having demanded and obtained letters of safe conduct, repaired to Seville in order to ratify the conditions of peace by the ceremony of homage. At the court of Peter, the Moorish monarch was received with all the honours due to his rank, and had a favourable audience. From the circumstances of the interview, it appears doubtful whether the dark mind of Peter had premeditated the infamous crime, which has for ever sullied his memory, or whether his avarice was stimulated by the gold and jewels which the Mahomedan King and his train imprudently displayed. The result, however, was the blackest that can be imagined. The Moorish Prince, after receiving the most flattering assurances of safety and friendship, was conducted to a splendid banquet. But the scene suddenly changed. He was seized, laden with chains, and thrown into a dungeon. This was only a prelude to the final tragedy. The unfortunate monarch was brought out of prison mounted on an ass, and with his nobles, who had accompanied him, conducted to a field called Tablata, where they were barbarously massacred. Some historians assert that Peter murdered the King of Grenada\* with his

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\* Vide Cardonne, tom 3, p. 197, 199.

own hand. His head was sent to Abil-Gualid, who, on receiving the welcome present, repaired to Grenada, where he was immediately replaced on the throne.

After this bloody and infamous tragedy, Peter concluded an alliance with Charles, King of Navarre, a Prince, whose vices have affixed to his name the epithet of Bad or Wicked, by which he is distinguished in history. The object of this confederacy was to attack the King of Arragon; but Charles, who in almost every vice was equal to Peter, was not his inferior in duplicity; and he violated every condition of the treaty.

Although deceived by the King of Navarre, Peter commenced the war against Arragon. But the measure of his wickedness was nearly full: and he began to be held in general detestation. The Kings of Navarre and Arragon were combined against him: the Count Henry of Transmare aspired to the throne; and the court of France, through policy and resentment, supported his pretensions. After the conclusion of the peace between England and France, the latter country was over-run by a desperate banditti. Great numbers of martial adventurers, who had followed the English standard, refused to lay down their arms, and persevered in a life of military rapine, equally regardless of the censures

of the church and the authority of the King of England.\* The views which Henry of Transtamare had formed on the throne of Castile, afforded the King of France a favourable opportunity of ridding himself from these dangerous inmates. Henry had solicited the succours of France; and Charles VI. who then reigned over that country, employed Bertrand du Guesclin, one of the most accomplished generals of his age, to engage the daring bands of the Companions in the service of the Castilian pretender. Du Guesclin was personally known to most of the leaders, whom his military talents had inspired with admiration; and so great was their confidence in his abilities and honour, that they agreed to follow his standard, under the condition that they should not be led against the Prince of Wales, who resided at Bourdeaux, and in the name of his father, Edward III. governed the English provinces in France.

The martial bands of the Companions assembled at Chalons, from whence they proceeded to Avignon, where the Pope then resided. Being all of them excommunicated persons, and wanting both forgiveness of their sins, and money to equip them for their distant expedition, they

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\* These outlaws were known by the name of companions. Wall. p. 178.

made a peremptory demand of absolution and the sum of two hundred thousand livres. The first cost his Holiness nothing and was speedily granted; but the second request was received with hesitation. These desperadoes, however, were not to be put off with excuses: they fairly represented to the Pope that they might have done without absolution, but that money was indispensably necessary. His Holiness being obliged to yield to this convincing logic granted them the sum demanded; and the martial bands, sanctified by his blessing, and, though somewhat against his inclination, enriched with his money, left Avignon, and commenced their march for Spain.

The King of Castile received, with emotions of terror, the news of the rapid approach of the Count of Translamaré, at the head of troops long celebrated for their daring valour, and accompanied by one of the greatest Generals of Europe. Although his standard was surrounded by a martial nobility and a numerous army, he justly distrusted the fidelity of both, and making a precipitate retreat to Seville, he carried off the treasures which he had amassed in that city, and continued his flight to the frontiers of Portugal. The Count of Translamaré, in the mean while, was received with all the joy which might naturally be expected from a people who

had so long groaned under the yoke of a relentless tyrant. The nobles, recognising him as their sovereign, flocked to his standard, and the crown of Castile was solemnly placed on his head by the Archbishop of Toledo.

While Henry was receiving the homage of his new subjects, and rewarding his soldiers by a liberal distribution of the royal treasures found at Burgos, Peter was revolving in his mind the means of regaining his throne. From Portugal he had entered Galicia; but the approach of his rival, and the universal disaffection of the people, compelled him to retire. Though closely pursued he reached Corunna, embarked for Bourdeaux, and took refuge in the court of the Prince of Wales. The military fame of Edward, surnamed the Black Prince, was diffused throughout Europe: at the first he had seemed to favour the cause of Henry; but the appearance of Peter as a suppliant operated a change in his sentiments. Impelled by generosity, or inflamed by a thirst for martial glory, he promised his assistance to the fugitive monarch. Having obtained the consent of his father, he set out with a formidable army, accompanied by his younger brother, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Chandos, the ablest of the English generals.

The first, and indeed the fatal blow, which Edward gave to Henry, was the recalling of the Companions from his service. These military adventurers, who considered a new war as a new source of plunder, had been liberally rewarded for expelling Peter from his dominions : they expected an equal recompense for their services in replacing him on the throne ; and these considerations, together with their respect for the Prince of Wales, induced the majority to enlist under his banners.\* Henry was so well supported by the love of his subjects and the alliance of Arragon, that he was able to appear in the field with an army of a hundred thousand men, which was more than three times the number of the forces commanded by Edward. Du Guesclin, whose counsel was supported by the most experienced officers in the army, advised him to decline any decisive action, and to content himself with harassing an enemy who, in battle, had ever been victorious. Confident, however, in the superiority of his forces, or perhaps apprehensive that an appearance of diffidence might diminish his reputation or shake the fidelity of his troops, Henry resolved to bring the affair to a speedy decision. But he had

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\* Walf. p. 181.

reason to repent of his temerity. The battle of Najara shewed the disparity between his raw and undisciplined troops, and the veteran forces of his antagonist.\* The Castilians were totally defeated: Du Guesclin, overwhelmed in the general confusion, was made prisoner; and Henry himself, with a few of his principal officers, escaped with difficulty. After this disaster he fled with precipitation from Castile, reposed himself a few days in the territory of Arragon, and then sought a more secure asylum in France.

Peter being received without opposition into Burgos, Castile was once more subjected to his sway and exposed to his vengeance. It was only by the powerful remonstrances of Edward that he was restrained from the massacre of his prisoners on the field of battle, and from sully-ing his entrance into the capital with the blood of his principal nobility. The Prince of Wales himself had sufficient cause to repent of his expedition. Peter being restored to power, displayed the ingratitude and perfidy that distinguished his character, and refused the recompense which he had promised to the English forces.† After a fruitless expostulation Edward

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\* Froiss. lib. 1. cap. 236.

† For the promised recompense vide Rymer's Fœd. vol. 6. and Barn. p. 684.

returned to Guienne, with his army greatly diminished, and his health fatally impaired by the fatigues of the campaign and the heat of the climate.

The tyrant, being no longer held in awe by the presence of his illustrious ally, gave full scope to his vindictive fury ; and the most distant connexion with the party of Henry was attended by confiscation or death. But while Peter thus abused his prosperity his final ruin was approaching. The fugitive Henry endeavoured to interest the Princes of Europe in his cause : the Roman Pontiff, Urban V. pronounced him free from the stain of illegitimacy, and Charles VI. King of France, affording him pecuniary assistance, paid the ransom of Du Guesclin, whose name was itself a host. Henry, accompanied by that celebrated commander, again crossed the Pyrenees, and he had scarcely unfurled his standard in Castile, before his small train of warriors was swelled into a numerous army.

Peter, with his ally, Abil-Gualid, King of Grenada, had invested the city of Cordova, which his rapacity and cruelty had driven into revolt. The siege was urged with vigour ; but the fainting spirits of the inhabitants were roused by the remonstrances of their wives, who declared their resolution of perishing in the flames of the city, rather than submit to the tyrant.

The assailants were repulsed ; and their retreat from the walls of Cordova was accelerated by the intelligence that Henry had entered Castile and menaced Toledo. The combined armies of Castile and Grenada were numerous, and they inspired Peter with confidence.\* He and his antagonist were impatient to engage ; and on the plain of Montial, near Toledo, the contest between the two rival brothers was decided. In the field of battle Peter displayed a courage not unworthy of his ancestors ; but his Castilian soldiers fought coolly in his cause ; and the troops of Grenada felt themselves little interested in the quarrel : they fled from the field, and the Castilians soon followed their example. Peter took refuge within the fortifications of Montial, which Henry instantly invested ; and, strong lines of circumvallation being drawn around the place, every hour diminished the means of resistance, and increased the difficulty of escape. In this extremity Peter, as his last resource, attempted to corrupt the fidelity of Du Guesclin, and offered an immense sum for a passage, in the night, through the quarter where the latter commanded. But here the tyrant met with that duplicity which he had always been so ready to practice.

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\* Cardonne says the troops furnished by the King of Grenada amounted to 7000 horse and 80,000 foot. Vol. 3. p. 209.

He was allured to an interview ; but in the tent of Du Guesclin, instead of a confederate he found his rival. Henry, who was privy to the negotiation, stood ready to receive his victim, and, after some bitter reproaches, plunged his dagger into his bosom.

Thus fell that famous tyrant, Peter A. D. 1369. the Cruel, in the nineteenth year of a turbulent, perfidious, and sanguinary reign, which was stained with every species of crime. Historians have depicted him as a monster totally destitute of humanity. His reign, indeed, exhibits too many well authenticated instances of his cruelty, avarice, and perfidy, to leave any room to doubt that he was one of the greatest of tyrants. But his extreme sorrow for the loss of his beloved wife, Donna Maria Padilla, and his tender affection for his children, shew that he was not wholly devoid of the tender feelings. In estimating the character of Peter, as well as of other Princes who have experienced his fate, it is requisite to observe that it was the interest of the successful party to blacken as much as possible his memory.

On the death of Peter, his ally, the King of Grenada, resolving to profit by the confusion which reigned in Castile, laid siege to Algeiras, which he captured and totally destroyed, while Henry, whose throne, environed with enemies,

was not yet firmly established, overlooked the insult, and concluded a truce with the Moorish monarch. Henry, however, soon overcame all opposition : Toledo opened her gates at his approach ; and his authority was recognised in an assembly of the states. The claims of the posterity of Peter were feebly sustained by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who had married his daughter ; and although Henry was successively attacked by England, Portugal, Arragon, and Navarre, he displayed the same courage and address in defending as he had done in acquiring his dominions. By negotiation or arms he evaded or repelled all the attempts of his enemies ; but at the moment when Castile looked forward to the enjoyment of general tranquillity, the prospect was clouded by the premature death of her monarch, who died of a nervous fever, A.D. 1379. in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the tenth of a glorious and beneficent reign. The story of his death being caused by a pair of poisoned buskins, sent him as a present from the King of Grenada, is too romantic for belief, except among those who always discover something extraordinary in the exit of Princes.

Henry was succeeded by his son John, a Prince not unworthy of his illustrious father. In a war against Portugal and England, he displayed equal spirit and prudence. On the conclusion of

peace, he married Beatrix, the daughter of Ferdinand, King of Portugal, with the stipulation that her issue should succeed to the throne of that kingdom. The treaty appeared extremely favourable to the King of Castile ; but his intentions were frustrated. On the death of Ferdinand, which happened about two years after its conclusion, John asserted the claim of his infant son Henry : but the Portuguese fearing that their kingdom might sink into a Province of Castile, placed on the throne, John, the half brother of the late King, and son of Peter, by his celebrated mistress, Agnes de Castro. The stain of his birth was effaced by his brilliant qualities ; but the commencement of his reign was gloomy. The armies of Castile invested Lisbon, but the pestilence broke out in their camp, and compelled them to raise the siege. In the ensuing spring they returned, and their standard was once more unfurled on the banks of the Tagus. But the temerity of the King of Castile was fatal to his success. Although the Portuguese army consisted of only twelve thousand men, its position was advantageous and strongly fortified. The troops which marched under the banners of Castile, amounted to thirty thousand ; and their numbers inspired their master with confidence. His ardour rejected the counsel of the most experienced generals. He resolved on the attack,

and a total defeat was the consequence of his imprudence. Several thousands of the Castilians perished in a morass which protected the front of the Portuguese camp; and the King, with the shattered remains of his army, found safety in a precipitate flight.

This disaster extinguished the hopes of the King of Castile, and revived those of his enemies. An alliance was concluded between Portugal and England; and the Duke of Lancaster once more asserted the claim of his consort, the daughter of Peter the Cruel. He landed in Galicia with a small but veteran army, and at Compostella he was solemnly proclaimed King of Castile. His rival, remembering his recent defeat on the banks of the Tagus, was too prudent to hazard a second reverse, which might have proved fatal to his throne. He therefore adopted a more certain plan of defence: he laid waste the country before his antagonist; and as the English advanced they saw only an extensive scene of desolation. They soon began to feel the pressure of famine, which produced disease, its usual concomitant. They distress of the invaders, and the dangerous situation of the King of Castile, produced a mutual desire of accommodation; and a treaty was at length concluded: the Duke of Lancaster received a considerable sum of money to defray the expences of his expedition: and

the peace was cemented by a marriage which eventually placed his daughter Catalina and her issue on the throne of Castile. That Princess was espoused by Henry, the eldest son of John; and the termination of the war between Castile and England soon led to the conclusion of peace between the former kingdom and Portugal.

The interval of public tranquillity was improved by the King of Castile to the greatest advantage. The rigid frugality which he practised was the source of liberality to his subjects: the taxes were diminished: agriculture flourished, and commerce revived. But in the midst of national prosperity, Castile was doomed to lament the loss of her father and King, who was killed by a fall from his horse, in the thirty-third year of his age, and the eleventh of a beneficent and prosperous reign.

A.D. 1390.

His son, Henry III. on whom the crown of Castile devolved, was only eleven years of age, and of a weakly constitution. A council of regency was formed: the members consisted of three Princes of the blood royal, the Archbishops of Toledo and Compostella, the Grand Masters of St. Jago and Calatrava, and sixteen deputies from the principal cities. Their union might have promoted the public prosperity; but their dissensions threatened the repose of the kingdom; and the Moors of Grenada, by an irruption into

Castile, shewed the confidence which they had acquired from the intestine discord of the Christians. But the firmness of Henry dispelled the gathering storms. By the advice of prudent counsellors, he declared his intentions of assuming the reins of government, and although he had scarcely completed his thirteenth year, an assembly of the states, convened at Madrid, dissolved the regency, and placed in his hands the regal authority.

The feeble frame of Henry was animated by a vigorous mind : his first care was to reform the abuses which had taken place during his minority. An interested regency had assigned large pensions to every person allied to the throne. These lavish grants were immediately reclaimed by the King, who softened the rigour of the measure by pleading the exigencies of the state. But it is seldom that individuals are willing to resign their private emoluments for the public advantage. The Princes of the blood were the first to oppose his administration : most of them deserted the court, retired to their castles, and armed their vassals and partizans ; but before they could have time to mature their designs and form a confederacy, they were anticipated by the promptitude of their sovereign. Henry suddenly appeared in arms, and the rebels implored and experienced his clemency. Having

thus extinguished the first sparks of intestine commotion, the King of Castile prepared to repel the encroachments of foreigners. The Portuguese had, in time of peace, surprised the strong town of Badajoz, on the banks of the Guadiana. But they were not suffered long to enjoy the fruit of their perfidy. Henry collected a formidable army, and equipped a considerable naval force : the country on the banks of the Tagus was laid waste : the squadrons which issued from the port of Lisbon were defeated ; and the King of Portugal was glad to obtain peace by the restoration of Badajoz.

On the cessation of hostilities with Portugal, Henry turned his arms against the Rovers of Africa, whose avidity of spoil, no laws nor treaties could restrain, and whose rapacity was equalled by their cruelty. Their vessels were destroyed by the squadrons of Castile ; and the town of Tetuan, the repository of their plunder, was captured. The lives of the inhabitants atoned for the injuries which they had done to the Castilians ; and the victors returned home laden with the treasures amassed during many years of piratical adventure.

The King of Castile, encouraged by these successes, began to meditate the expulsion of the Moors from Spain ; and the predatory inroads of the King of Grenada afforded him a just

pretext for hostilities. A strict economy had replenished the public coffers of Castile, and the vigour with which Henry carried on his preparations, inflamed the hopes of his soldiers, and struck terror into the enemy. An assembly of the states was summoned to Toledo: a martial nobility were ardent to exercise their valour against the ancient enemies of their faith and their country. The proposal for war was received with loud and unanimous applause, the expedition was sanctioned by the approbation of the clergy; and the whole force of Castile was about to be poured upon Grenada; but the plan was disconcerted by the death of Henry, who expired during the sitting of the assembly. His only son was an infant of fourteen months old; and the states, anticipating the evils with which the kingdom, during a minority, had been so often afflicted, laid aside the thought of engaging in a foreign war.

Henry was one of those Princes whose virtues add lustre to a crown. His observation “that he feared the curses of his people more than the weapons of his enemies,” ought to be treasured in the minds of all rulers of nations. But although moderation was one of the leading maxims of his policy, he knew how to punish as well as reward. He studiously repressed the pride of the nobility, whose influence, at the time

of his accession, over-ruled the power of the sovereign, and by severely chastising a revolt of the city of Seville, he admonished the multitude of the danger of braving the authority of the sovereign.

The death of Henry was a subject of consternation to the states. Dreading the evils of a minority, a motion was made for setting aside the claims of a feeble infant, and calling to the succession Ferdinand, brother of the late King. That Prince displayed on the occasion a rare instance of disinterested probity : regarding himself as the natural protector of his nephew, he rejected the proposal : he commanded the royal standard to be unfurled, and John II. to be instantly proclaimed King of Castile. His resolution fixed the minds of the assembly, and the oath of allegiance was unanimously taken to the infant monarch.

The integrity of Ferdinand, in refusing the crown, marked him out to the states as the most proper person to be intrusted with the regency. The warlike preparations of Henry were in a great state of forwardness ; and Ferdinand resolved to bring them into action. In order to prevent the dissensions which had agitated every minority, he judged it requisite to employ the martial nobles in foreign hostilities. The King of Grenada, in order to anticipate the attack,

was already in arms, and had passed the frontier. Ferdinand opened the campaign with the siege and capture of Pruna; and Mehemmed, at the head of a hundred thousand men, having presented himself before Biatia, burned the suburbs, and had nearly carried the place by assault; but the approach of the Christians obliged him to raise the siege. The Moors, in their retreat, destroyed the country with fire and sword, and marked their route with the most dreadful desolation.

The Christians, in the mean while, were victorious at sea. The piratical squadrons of Tunis, notwithstanding their superiority in number of vessels, were totally defeated by the fleets of Castile; while the Regent was equally successful by land. The strong towns of Zahara and Aiamonte surrendered to his arms; and the King of Grenada, who, with eighty-six thousand men, had invested the city of Jaen, retired with precipitation on hearing that Ferdinand was advancing to the relief of the place. The rest of the campaign was consumed in mutual ravages and devastations. But, on the return of spring, Mehemmed made an unsuccessful attempt on Alcandette, while the Castilian army, in three divisions, entered the kingdom of Grenada, and every where spread terror and desolation. The views of Ferdinand, however, were to protect

rather than extend the dominions of his nephew ; and the kingdom of Grenada being rent by two powerful factions, a cessation of hostilities was equally agreeable to the Moors and the Christians. A truce of eight months was  
A. D. 1408. no sooner concluded than Mehemmed, King of Grenada, who had dethroned and imprisoned his elder brother, Jousef, was seized with a mortal distemper. This Prince, seeing no hope of recovery, resolved to insure the succession to his son by the death of the dethroned monarch. He therefore gave orders for his immediate execution ; but the death of Mehemmed himself, happening within a few hours, prevented the sanguinary command from being carried into effect. Jousef, instead of being led to execution, was restored to the throne, and this event prolonged the truce between Castile and Grenada. But within less than two years it was transiently interrupted by the animosity which constantly reigned between the two nations. The Moors made themselves masters of the town of Zahara, but were unable to reduce the citadel. The Castilians, under the command of the Regent, having laid siege to Antequera, the King of Grenada, with eighty-five thousand men, marched to its relief. Ferdinand, however, was resolved to succeed in the enterprize or perish in the attempt : he quitted

his entrenchments, and notwithstanding his inferiority in numbers, gave the Moorish army a total defeat, and after this signal success immediately returned to the siege. Jousef, resolving to make one grand effort for the relief of a place of such importance, ordered his subjects to rise *en masse*, and marched at their head to force the entrenchments of the Regent. But the Castilians, in order to avoid being overwhelmed by his innumerable host, kept themselves within their camp, which the King of Grenada finding impregnable, was obliged to make a disgraceful retreat, and leave the besieged city to its fate. Notwithstanding this dereliction, Antiquera made a long and vigorous defence, and when at last the city was taken by assault, the citadel held out several days and then surrendered by capitulation, after which a truce for eighteen months terminated the campaign.

The disinterested integrity of Ferdinand, in refusing the crown of Castile, was rewarded with that of Arragon. The King of that country had expired without issue, and the claims which Ferdinand derived by his descent from a great aunt of that monarch, were strengthened by his own reputation for probity, courage, and skill in arms. His competitors did not yield without a struggle, but he overcame all opposition, and entered Saragossa in triumph, where he cele-

brated his coronation. His reign was short ; but he left a son named Alphonso, who succeeded him in his throne, and surpassed him in renown, by wresting the kingdom of Naples from the House of Anjou.

At the death of Ferdinand, John, his nephew, King of Castile, had not completed his thirteenth year : yet the states judged it expedient to prevent a dangerous competition for the regency by resigning into his hands the reins of government. But his weakness and inexperience encouraged the rise of various factions which agitated his reign, and afflicted his subjects with numerous calamities. The uninteresting history of domestic contention, however, is slightly gilded by a glorious war against the common enemy.

Joufef, King of Grenada, died A. D. 1423, and was succeeded by his son Mehemmed Elazari, a Prince known only by his misfortunes and his ingratitude. After a short reign of four years, he was deposed by his subjects, and his cousin, Mehemmed-El-Sugair, was placed on the throne. This Prince, like his predecessor, soon lost the affections of his subjects : Mehemmed Elazari, who had taken refuge in Africa, was easily restored by the efforts of the Kings of Tunis and Castile, and the usurper perished by the hand of the executioner.

Elazari was no sooner replaced on the throne than he refused the payment of his tribute to the crown of Castile. John, being highly incensed at his ingratitude, commenced a most destructive war against Grenada. The country was ravaged, the standing crops were burned on the ground, and the villages reduced to ashes to the very gates of the capital. From the top of their ramparts, the opulent inhabitants of Grenada beheld their villas consumed with fire, and a magnificent palace of the King, near the walls of the city, was involved in the general conflagration. This desolating expedition was conducted by Don Alvaro de Luna; and the King of Castile, with an army of eighty thousand men, soon after appeared before Grenada. On his approach the Moors, in immense numbers, rushed out from the city and attacked his army, and as the battle was fought near the walls, fresh troops continually took place of those that were wounded. Victory at last declared for the Christians; but the Moors retreated in regular order into the city. John, expecting another attack, entrenched himself in an advantageous situation, and employed every means to render his camp impregnable. The apprehensions of the King of Castile proved to be well founded. Within the space of a few days, the whole force of the Moors, to the amount of two hundred thousand

men, sallied out of Grenada, and again attacked the Christians. The battle was extremely obstinate and the victory was long contested; but at length the Moors were totally routed. Part of their numerous host regained the city: the rest dispersed themselves in the adjacent country. The King of Castile remained ten days longer before Grenada, but finding himself unable to make any impression on the fortifications or to draw the citizens to a second engagement, he completed the destruction of all that remained in the environs, and raised the siege.

While the kingdom of Grenada suffered all the calamities by which the wars of a barbarous age were usually accompanied, the capital was agitated by the violence of opposite factions. The King of Castile was desirous of placing on the throne Jousef-El-Ahmar, grandson of Mehemmed, whom Peter the Cruel perfidiously put to death at Seville; and a considerable number of the citizens of Grenada began to favour the claims of that Prince. After the war had continued some time longer, and the Christians again approached the city, the party of Jousef acquired a decided ascendancy: Mehemmed-El-Azari was totally abandoned by the people, and retiring to Malaga, left the throne to his rival. Jousef entered Grenada in triumph, and having demonstrated his gratitude to John by the ceremony

of homage, the payment of tribute, and the release of the Christian slaves, he restored tranquillity to his kingdom by a peace with Castile.

But Spain, desolated by so many wars, was doomed to enjoy only a transient repose. Hitherto Castile had, during the whole reign of John, been agitated not only by domestic factions but exhausted by wars with Grenada and Arragon: the former had been attended with constant, the latter with various success. The Moors, amidst their destructive contests with the Christians, had been continually exposed to all the evils of an unsettled government; and the interval of peace and political union, which they now enjoyed, was only of a short duration. The death of A. D. 1432. Jusef-El-Ahmar, King of Grenada, after a reign of six months, changed the state of affairs. The Moors, remarkable for their levity, recalled to the throne Mehemed-Elazari, whom they had so lately expelled. Hostilities were soon after re-commenced between Grenada and Castile; and four successive campaigns, though marked with various turns of fortune, were on the whole advantageous to the Moors. The Christians, occupied in civil contentions, were unable to carry on a foreign war with effect. But the troubles of Castile, which might have afforded the people of Grenada time to re-establish their affairs, only encouraged the

revival of their former factions. In the year 1445, Mehemmed-Elazari was dethroned and thrown into a dungeon by his nephew, Mehemmed-El-Akfa, who, a few years after, was deposed by his own brother Ismael. This Prince, although he had been supported by the King of Castile, was no sooner placed on the throne of Grenada, than he shewed his determination of continuing, against the Christians, the war which had been successfully commenced by his predecessor.

While Grenada was thus agitated by discord and civil war, Castile presented similar scenes of intestine commotion. Don Alvaro de Luna, with the office of high constable of Castile, possessed the favour of his sovereign, and had distinguished himself in his command against the Moors. Envy excited the nobles to arms against the favourite : their first efforts were unsuccessful ; and their defeat promised to establish the power of John on a permanent basis, when it was suddenly shaken by an unexpected turn of affairs. The Queen and the Prince of Asturias declared for the malecontents : John was unable to resist the torrent of general disaffection : he was compelled to dismiss his favourite and change his ministers ; and while his rebellious nobles obtruded themselves into every office of power and emolument, he was suffered to retain

no more than the title of King. From this dependant situation, he was released by a new revolution. The counsels of the Bishop of Avila, seconded by the address of Don Juan Pacheco, had awakened the Prince of Asturias to a sense of his duty. A reconciliation between the father and son was effected. The King, eluding the vigilance of his guards, escaped from the castle of Portillo. The royal standard was unfurled; and the King and the Prince of Asturias marched against the confederates, who had called in the King of Navarre to their support. In the neighbourhood of Olmeda the rebels were totally defeated: the King of Navarre escaped the pursuit of the victors, and gained the frontiers of Arragon; but his brother Henry was mortally wounded.

John, being restored to power, recalled to his court and his councils Don Alvaro de Luna, and as a further mark of his favour, invested that nobleman with the dignity of Grand Master of the Order of St. Jago. At the same time, the death of the Queen leaving John a widower, he espoused the Princess Isabella of Portugal. The return of Alvaro, and the second marriage of the King, were equally disagreeable to the Prince of Asturias. He quitted the court, and again erected the standard of revolt; but he had not time to collect a numerous force before he was sur-

prised by the appearance of his father at the head of a select detachment. Both parties were ready to engage, but the mediation of the prelates and clergy, who had accompanied the King and the Prince, effected a reconciliation ; and the unnatural contest was happily terminated without the effusion of blood. But the kingdom was not yet freed from its calamities. The King of Navarre continued his hostilities ; and a rapacious hord of Gascons was allured by his promises to cross the Pyrenees, and pillage the territories of Castile, while the Moors of Grenada ravaged the plains of Andalusia.

In the midst of those unprosperous circumstances, Don Alvaro de Luna displayed a splendour which obscured that of his sovereign, and at last excited his jealousy. Although a company of faithful guards, commanded by his natural son, Don Pedro, protected his person from any immediate attack, his destruction was determined ; and he soon furnished a pretext as well as an opportunity for its accomplishment. Don Alphonso de Vivaro, who already possessed the place of high treasurer under the mask of friendship, was indefatigable in his attempts to undermine his authority. His artifices were easily penetrated by Alvaro, who resolved to rid himself of a dangerous rival. He invited his adherents to his palace ; and Don Alphonso pre-

ented himself as one of the number. The seat of the council was a lofty tower ; and no sooner had Vivaro ascended, than he was thrown headlong from the summit and dashed to pieces. The King was impatient to punish this act of presumption, the Queen called for vengeance on the murderer of her favourite, and the courtiers were loud in venting their indignation against a minister whose smiles they had so recently courted. The palace of Alvaro was surrounded by the royal guards : he was instantly made prisoner, brought to trial, declared guilty of the murder of Don Alphonso de Vivaro, and sentenced to decapitation by the hand of the common executioner. He heard the sentence without the least emotion, and in the last and most trying moments of his life, asserted the courage of a Castilian noble. In the market place of Valladolid, he ascended the scaffold with a firm and steady step, and confessed, in his approaching fate, the just punishment of his sins. With dauntless composure he presented his neck to the axe, and received with intrepidity, the fatal stroke. During some days his headless trunk was exposed to the public view : his riches had been confiscated by his rapacious sovereign ; and his remains were indebted to common charity for a burial. Thus fell Don Alvaro de Luna, high Constable and Grand Master of the Order

of St. Jago, who had successfully conducted the armies of Castile against the Moors, and during many years administered the affairs of the kingdom. John did not live long enough to regret the loss of a minister who, amidst the storms of civil dissention, had strenuously asserted the authority of the crown: he expired soon after A.D. 1450. at Valladolid, in the forty-seventh year of his age. His reign, which comprehended nearly his whole life, was a continued scene of foreign war and domestic turbulence: yet amidst the tempests which incessantly shook his throne, he displayed a considerable degree of firmness and resolution.

The vacant throne was immediately filled by his son Henry, who, from the alledged cause of his divorce from his first consort, Blanch, the daughter of the King of Navarre, acquired the surname of Impotent. Notwithstanding, however, the disgrace which had accompanied his separation from Blanch, Henry solicited the hand of Joanna of Portugal; and the ambition of that Princess prompted her to become the partner of his throne. In the sixth year after their marriage, she became pregnant: a daughter was born, who was baptized by the name of her mother, and acknowledged heiress to the crown of Castile. Yet the impotency of the King was the public theme, and the spirit of faction was exercised

in spreading reports of the illegitimacy of the Princess.

The commencement of the reign of Henry was gilded with some important successes against the Moors ; and his conduct in the management of the war shewed that, although his understanding was not of the highest order, yet he was not wholly deficient in martial abilities. An army of fourteen thousand horse and forty thousand foot marched under his banners ; but as he had formed the design of reducing the Moors by famine, he confined his operations to the devastation of their country, by burning their crops of corn on the ground, driving off their cattle, and destroying their villages. In this manner he penetrated to the walls of Grenada ; and from the tops of their towers the inhabitants of the capital beheld the flames which consumed the surrounding country, without daring to hazard a battle. In the following year these ravages and devastations were repeated. Not only the crops of corn were burned on the ground, but even the trees were cut down and consumed. The Moors, being threatened with a dreadful famine, were obliged to purchase a truce by the payment of an annual sum of twelve thousand crowns of gold, and the liberation of six hundred Christian slaves. Within the space of three years hostilities recommenced ; and the frontiers of Grenada and

Andalusia were again desolated by hostile ravages. In the year 1462, Gibraltar was surprised by the Christians, when most of the troops, which composed the garrison, were employed in ravaging the territory of Andalusia. Some historians say that the place was betrayed by a Moorish convert : it is certain, however, that the Christian standard was, without much difficulty, planted on the towers of Gibraltar ; and the feeble reign of Henry derives some lustre from the conquest of that important fortress.

If Henry did not possess the talents and virtues of his father, however, he inherited his failings. Don Juan de Pacheco ruled with the same absolute dominion over his mind as Don Alvaro de Luna had exercised in the preceding reign. Henry had conferred on his favourite the title of Marquis of Villena, and the commons were not less exasperated by the extravagance, than the nobles were by the insolence of this minion of fortune. But, although loaded with the favours, he betrayed the interests of his sovereign. The Catalans had erected the standard of revolt against John II. King of Arragon, and offered to Henry the sovereignty of their country. In this affair it was deemed prudent to consult Louis XI. King of France, who, from the situation of his dominions, might prove a formidable enemy or a powerful ally. An interview was agreed on

between the Kings of Castile and France, and on their meeting, their different dispositions were displayed in the contrast of their appearance. Henry, magnificent and haughty, was attended by a splendid train : Louis, plain and unostentatious, was clad in coarse cloth, and tenderly accompanied. They parted with mutual protestations of friendship ; yet while Henry was disgusted at the sordid appearance of Louis ; the latter imbibed the most decided contempt for the understanding of the Castilian monarch.

But the King of France, instead of expending his money in sumptuous preparations for his journey, had employed it in bribing the ministers of Castile ; and the Marquis of Villena, in compliance with the inclinations of that monarch, persuaded Henry to abandon the Catalans. The King of Castile, however, soon discovered the fraud ; and the exile of the Marquis from court was the immediate consequence of his treacherous counsels.

A powerful confederacy was soon after formed by the high Admiral of Castile, the Counts of Benevente, Placentia, and Ossuna, the Archbishops of Toledo and Compestella, the Grand Masters of the Orders of Calatrava and Alcantara, and the Marquis of Villena, who, instead of the favorite, was now become the enemy of his sovereign. The confederates published a manifesto,

in which they charged the King with having imposed a supposititious child on the nation, in order to defraud his younger brother, Alphonso, of the succession. They claimed the right of trying and passing sentence on their sovereign as one of the privileges of their order, and summoned all their party to meet for that purpose at Avila. That the proceedings might be as public and solemn as possible a spacious theatre was erected without the walls of the town. An image, representing the King, was seated on a throne, clad in royal robes, with a crown on its head, a sceptre in its hand, and the sword of justice by its side. The accusation against the King was read, and the sentence of deposition pronounced in the presence of a numerous assembly. At the close of the first article of the charge the Archbishop of Toledo tore the crown from the head of the image : at the close of the second the Count of Placentia snatched the sword of justice from its side : as soon as the third was read the Count of Benevente wrested the sceptre from its hand : at the conclusion, Don Diego Lopez de Stuniga tumbled the pageant headlong from the throne ; and Don Alphonso, the younger brother of Henry, was immediately proclaimed King of Castile and Leon.\*

Toledo declared for Alphonso, Simancas was reduced by the arms of the confederates ; and Henry beheld the spirit of revolt rapidly spreading throughout his dominions. He hastily assembled about four thousand troops, in whose loyalty and valour he could confide, and marched against his brother, whose forces were nearly equal in number. In the plains near Medina del Campo, he descried the banners of the confederates, and both parties prepared with alacrity for the action. The standard of Alphonso was unfurled in the front of the line ; and the Archbishop of Toledo charged the royal army by his side. The shock was violent : the engagement lasted from noon until the darkness of the night left the victory undecided ; and both armies retired to their respective camps with nearly an equal loss. Soon after this action the town of Segovia was surprised by the rebels ; but the castle, in which the royal treasures were deposited, still held out for the King. And Henry received an ample compensation for the loss of the town by the acquisition of the important city of Toledo, the inhabitants of which, by one of those sudden transitions so frequent amidst civil dissensions, returned to their allegiance and expelled the rebel garrison.

The sudden and mysterious fate of Alphonso soon after put an end to the war. That young

Prince, having retired to rest in perfect health, was, within a few hours, found dead, without any marks of violence. So uncommon a circumstance at so critical a juncture, could not fail of exciting suspicion : and the confederate nobles have been accused of dispatching, by poison, a Prince whose rising genius might have controlled their factious turbulence. His death, however, deprived them of a chief ; and they opened a negotiation with Henry, who gave up the claims of his daughter Joanna, acknowledged his sister Isabella as the heiress of his dominions, and confirmed the Marquis of Villena in the dignity of Grand Master of the Order of St. Jago. The public tranquillity being restored, the next important concern was the marriage of the Princess Isabella ; and among a number of pretenders to her hand, Ferdinand, King of Sicily, son and presumptive heir to the King of Arragon and Navarre, was, by the states of Castile, deemed the most eligible. The nuptials were celebrated by the Archbishop of Toledo. A convention, consisting of ten articles, drawn up by that prelate, was subscribed by the King of Sicily before he received the hand of Isabella. By these Ferdinand stipulated to govern the kingdom after the death of Henry, conjointly with Isabella, according to the oath taken by the Kings of Castile at their accession, without any infringement or

alteration of the laws, usages, prerogatives or privileges of any of the cities, towns, places, or persons, civil or ecclesiastical. All orders were to be issued in the joint names of Ferdinand and Isabella: no person was to be admitted into the councils or offices of state that was not a native of Castile; and all dignities, ecclesiastical and civil, were to be at the disposal of the Queen. Ferdinand also was, by the stipulation, bound to reside in Castile, and to make war against Grenada as soon as it should be in his power.

Such were the conditions by which the prudence of the Archbishop provided for the immediate quiet of Henry, and the future independence of Castile. But the restless and intriguing Marquis of Villena stimulated that monarch to violate the treaty which he himself had contributed to impose; and in this he was seconded by the bold and determined spirit of the Queen. Henry, influenced by their counsels, as well as prompted by his own inclinations, issued a manifesto, in which he recalled his former concessions, confirmed by oath his belief that Joanna was his daughter, and declared her the heiress to the crown of Castile. Ferdinand and Isabella published a counter-manifesto; in which they admonished the people not to be deluded by the assertions of Henry, and the artifices of his ministers. The King and the Marquis of Villena

rested their hopes on a powerful alliance by the marriage of Joanna with the King of Portugal. The negotiation, for that purpose, was already concluded, when the Marquis died in his return from Lisbon. Henry himself died soon after, and in his last moments shewed greater fortitude than might have been expected from the mediocrity of his understanding, although his personal courage had never been questioned. With his last breath he declared Joanna his successor; but it could scarcely be expected that his will, which was constantly opposed during his life, would be respected after his death. The majority of the nation declared in favour of Ferdinand and Isabella; and they were jointly proclaimed sovereigns of Castile and Leon.

This event did not deter Alphonso, King of Portugal, from espousing Joanna, and asserting her claim to the throne. He entered Castile with a formidable army; but on the field of battle, near Toro, his pretensions were decided, and his hopes extinguished. The Portuguese being defeated by the superior valour of the Castilians or the military skill of Ferdinand, retreated to their own frontiers; and the tranquillity of Castile was established. In the following year Ferdinand succeeded to the throne of Arragon by the death of his father;

A. D. 1478.

A. D. 1479.

but the crown of Navarre, which the latter had obtained by his consort, Blanch, devolved on the Countess of Foix, his daughter by that Princess. From this important period, the hitherto separate and often hostile kingdoms of Castile and Arragon remained united ; and the distinction of names was gradually lost in the general appellation of Spain.

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## CHAP. X.

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State of Spain at the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella.—Preparations for expelling the Moors.—Commencement of hostilities.—The Moors surprise Zahara.—Alhama taken by the Christians.—Civil war in the city of Grenada.—The King, Abul-Huffan, and his son Aboul-Abdallah, raised to the throne.—Aboul-Abdallah defeated and made prisoner by the Christians.—Abul-Hassan restored.—Aboul-Abdallah liberated by Ferdinand.—Abul-Hassan again deposed, and his brother Zagal elected King of Grenada.—Bloody civil war between the uncle and the nephew.—The Count de Cabra surprised and defeated by Zagal.—Successes of Ferdinand.—Dreadful civil war in the city of Grenada.—Zagal defeated by the Christians.—Is shut out of Grenada.—Malaga taken by the Christians.—Zagal defeats the Christians.—Baza taken by Ferdinand.—Zagal surrenders to Ferdinand.—Description of Grenada.—Reduction of that capital.—Description of the Alhambra.

AFTER Ferdinand and Isabella had, by marriage and succession, united the kingdoms of Arragon and Castile, there still existed in the peninsula three other independent powers—Portugal, Navarre, and Grenada. The first of these, stretching along the coast of the Atlantic from north to South, from the mouth of the Minho to Cape St. Vincent, possessed nearly the same extent and boundaries as the modern Portugal.

From the Pyrenean mountains to the frontiers of Castile, Navarre occupied the space of about seventy miles in breadth, and extended about eighty in length from the Province of Biscay to the borders of Arragon. The kingdom of Grenada, the last remnant of the Spanish Caliphate and of the Mahommedan power in Spain, stretched the space of a hundred and seventy miles along the coast of the Mediterranean ; but the successive encroachments of Castile had reduced it to less than eighty in breadth. Notwithstanding the narrowness of its limits, Grenada had been, for more than a century, the theatre of faction and intestine discord ; but neither its civil dissensions, nor the devastations of foreign war, had extinguished among its inhabitants the spirit of industry which was displayed in the pursuits of agriculture, commerce, and the arts. The Moors, successively expelled from the different cities and provinces of Spain, had retired in great numbers to Grenada, and constantly recruited a population exhausted by incessant hostilities. No sooner had a short truce allowed some respite from the ravages of the enemy, than a people, trained up in the habits of industry, returned with ardour to their desolated fields : beneath their labours the country soon resumed the appearance of a garden ; and the capital, which had hitherto bid defiance

to the armies of Castile, was one of the largest and most magnificent cities of Europe.

Such was the state of the kingdom of Grenada when Ferdinand and Isabella, having concluded a peace with the King of Portugal, formed the grand project of reducing it under their dominion, and extirpating a hostile power, which, during so many centuries, had resisted all the efforts of Castile. The sceptre of Gre-

nada was at that critical moment, swayed  
1481. by Abul-Hassan, who, in his youth, had been distinguished by his valour and his enmity to the Christians. He saw the impending storm, and prepared to meet it with fortitude. To the demand of tribute, urged by Ferdinand, he replied that "In the same place where they  
"coined money at Grenada they also forged  
"arms." This answer was equivalent to a declaration of war: on both sides immense preparations were made; and Ferdinand was determined not to lay down his arms until he had effected the total reduction of the Moors, an enterprise which had baffled all the attempts of his predecessors.

Hostilities commenced by an inroad which the Marquis of Cadiz made into the Moorish territory. The Moors immediately flew to arms, and surprised the town of Zahara, the citadel of which was seated on a craggy rock and deemed

impregnable. Such of the inhabitants as attempted resistance were put to the sword : the rest were carried into captivity.\* The loss of Zahara was soon after compensated by the capture of Alhama, which was surprised by the Governor of Seville and the Marquis of Cadiz : a great number of the citizens, who had taken refuge in a Mosque, were sacrificed to the fury of the Christians : the rest were swept into captivity, and expiated, by their sufferings, the fate of the inhabitants of Zahara. Such were the preludes of this long and bloody war, which terminated in the extinction of the Mahommedan power in Spain.

The Moors and the Christians being completely prepared for the contest, Abul-Hassan and Ferdinand placed themselves at the head of their armies. The King of Grenada, with five thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, marched for the purpose of recovering Alhama, which was only about twenty-five miles from the capital, and was considered as one of its bulwarks.† The garrison and the inhabitants prepared for a vigorous defence ; and the Moors, in attempting to carry the place by assault, were repulsed with

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\* Cardonne says that the surprise of Zahara was the first act of hostility. Vol. 3. p. 250.

† Alhama was celebrated for its magnificent baths, erected by the Kings of Grenada.

considerable loss. But Alhama being totally destitute of springs, the besiegers undertook to turn the course of the small river which supplied the place with water. In this enterprise they succeeded, in spite of the redoubled efforts of the besieged, although with the loss of a great number of the best soldiers of their army ; and the inhabitants of Alhama were reduced to the greatest distress by the want of water, when the Duc de Medina Sidonia, with five thousand cavalry and forty thousand infantry came to their relief. The Moors, rather than expose themselves to the risk of a defeat, immediately raised the siege ; and the garrison not only received a strong reinforcement, but also an ample supply of provisions and military stores. On the departure of the Spanish army, the Moors recommenced the siege of Alhama ; but on the approach of Ferdinand they again retired with precipitation ; and the Spaniards having desolated, with fire and sword, the plain of Grenada, returned to Cordova laden with plunder. The King of Castile and Arragon, however, could not boast of constant success. He again took the field, and having formed the siege of Loja, or Loxa, on the banks of the Xenil, he was totally defeated by Ali-Attar, the governor, at the head of the garrison, and obliged to make a precipitate and disorderly retreat.

This defeat, however, only served to stimulate Ferdinand to more vigorous efforts; and his ardour was equalled or rather surpassed by that of Isabella. All Spain resounded with their mighty preparations: new armies were levied; and the supplies which were liberally granted by the states were managed with economy. The resources of Grenada were far inferior to those of Castile and Arragon; and the kingdom was divided by domestic contentions; yet, under these disadvantages, the resistance of the Moors was not inglorious. The victory of Loxa had revived their hopes; and they again laid siege to Alhama. The defence of that important place being confided to Don Louis Osorio, Bishop of Jaen, the attempts of the Moors for its reduction again proved ineffectual; and Ferdinand, at the same time, carried fire and sword through the enemy's territory to the very walls of the capital.

While the environs of Grenada presented a horrible scene of carnage and conflagration, a dreadful civil war was kindled within the walls of that city. The inhabitants considered Abul-Hassan, their King, as the author of all their calamities. Their murmurs grew loud, and the public mind was in a state of ferment which announced an approaching revolt, when a wife of that Prince accelerated the explosion. She was

of the blood royal of Grenada ; but the inconstant monarch having abandoned her for a Grecian slave whom he loved to excess, the Sultaneſs began to be apprehenſive that he might deſtroy the children whom ſhe had borne him, in order to advance to the throne thoſe of the favourite. She conjured the people to undertake the defence of her children : the city was inſtantly all in confuſion : the inſurrection ſoon became general : Abul-Haſſan was depoſed ; and the crown of Grenada was placed on the head of Aboul-Abdallah, his eldeſt ſon by the Sultaneſs. Abul-Haſſan ſought an aſylum at Malaga, and implored the aid of his brother Aboul-Abdalla, to whom the ſurname of Zagal had been given to diſtinguiſh him from his nephew. Malaga and ſeveral other cities remained faithful to Abul-Haſſan : the reſt of the kingdom acknowledged the authority of the new ſovereign. The Moors, thus divided into two factions, commenced a bloody civil war without abating their animofity towards the Chriſtians. On the contrary, the different parties endeavoured to ingratiate themſelves with the nation by their efforts againſt the common enemy. A diviſion of the Chriſtian army, under the Grand Maſter of St. Jago, was totally defeated by Zagal, governor of Malaga, and brother of Aboul-Haſſan. The

Christians consisted of nearly three thousand men, most of whom were killed or taken; and their commander, with a very small remnant, narrowly escaped. Zagal acquired great honour by this victory, which was gained chiefly by his valour and skill.

The civil war between the father and the son raged with increasing fury; and in a bloody action, between the two parties, the latter was defeated. The rival Princes, however, were equally desirous of strengthening their interest by some important achievement against the Christians. The last success of Zagal stimulated the young King, Aboul-Abdallah, to balance or eclipse his glory by some brilliant enterprise. He formed the project of seizing Lucene, a large and populous but ill fortified city, on the frontiers of Andalusia. Having approached the place, without seeing an enemy, he immediately commenced the siege; but the approach of the Count de Cabra compelled him to retire with precipitation. A thick mist, for some time, concealed his march and that of the enemy, but on its clearing up, he discovered the Spaniards ready to charge his rear. The moment that the trumpets of the Christians sounded, the Moorish army, surprised and confounded, began to disperse. A dreadful havock was made of their broken and flying squadrons: their King endeavoured to

rally his scattered troops; but his efforts were fruitless. The day was irrecoverably lost; and Aboul-Abdallah himself was made prisoner by the Christians. The pursuit continued till night; and the Moors lost above five thousand men killed and taken prisoners. Ali-Attar, the most skilful of their generals, closed his military labours by a glorious death on the field of battle. From the station of a private soldier he had passed through all the degrees of military promotion: he fell at the advanced age of ninety; and his long life, spent in camps, had rendered him an adept in the science of war.

This disastrous affair threw the Moors into great consternation. They had lost their ablest general and many of the best of their soldiers, and their King was a captive in the hands of the enemy. In this extremity they replaced on the throne Abul-Hassan whom they had so lately expelled. The restoration of this Prince, however, was not generally approved; and his son, although a prisoner in the hands of the Christians, had a powerful party in Grenada.

The policy of Ferdinand did not fail to profit by the dismay and disunion of the enemy. At the head of an army of above fifty thousand men, he again desolated the plain of Grenada, and carried the people into slavery. In order to maintain the spirit of division and re-ignite

the flames of civil war among the Moors, he set at liberty the young King, Aboul-Abdallah, under the conditions of homage and tribute : he also supplied that Prince with money and war-like stores to enable him to dispute the throne with his father. Having taken these measures, Ferdinand presented himself before Ronda, which was compelled to surrender to his arms ; and the fall of that important place was followed by the capture of several other cities. The Moors, seeing themselves reduced to extremity, without a King who possessed either the confidence of the nation or the abilities requisite for conducting the war, offered to Zagal the crown of Grenada, hoping that his valour and prudence might prop their tottering empire. Zagal readily accepted the offer ; and his brother, the aged Abul-Haffan, being a second time deposed, was shut up in prison, where he soon after terminated his turbulent and troublesome career.

The new monarch being convinced that so long as the Moors were divided into different factions they could not resist the arms of Ferdinand, resolved, in the first place, to attempt the destruction of his nephew Aboul-Abdallah. For this purpose he entered into a treaty with the inhabitants of Almeria, who agreed to deliver that Prince into his hands. But Abdallah being informed of the plot, departed from that city in

the night, and took refuge among the Christians. Zagal, thus disappointed of his victim, immolated to his ambition and resentment the brother of the young Prince ; and led the Sultaneſs, his mother, priſoner to Grenada. In order to intimidate the people to union, he inſtituted a bloody political inquiſition, and condemned to death all whom he ſuſpected of attachment to his nephew.

Ferdinand, in the mean while, reſolved to call into exertion the whole force of his kingdom, in order to extinguiſh the laſt remains of the Moorish or Arabian domination in Spain ; and his army had orders to rendezvous at Alcala la Royale. The Count de Cabra attempted to ſurpriſe the Moorish army encamped near Moclin, and choſe the night for the execution of his project ; but Zagal, being apprized of his deſign, broke up his camp, and poſted his troops in the deſiles through which the Chriſtians were to paſs. The conſequence of this manœuvre was, that the Count fell into the ambuſcade : almoſt all his infantry were cut in pieces ; and the commander himſelf, with only a ſmall number of cavalry eſaped. This diſaſter chagrined, but did not diſcourage Ferdinand. His efforts were redoubled, and the ſtrong fortrefſes of Cambil and Albahar, in order to avoid the calamities of an aſſault, ſurrendered to the Chriſtians by capitulation. Theſe ſucceſſes cloſed the cam-

paign, as the continual rains, and the approach of winter, obliged the Spaniards to suspend their conquests.

While Ferdinand was employed in meditating his plan of operations for the ensuing campaign, Grenada was exposed to all the calamities of civil war. Aboul-Abdallah, being invited by those of his faction, entered secretly into the capital, and seized the quarter of Albañim. This quarter, situated on one of the hills on which Grenada is built, was detached from the rest of the city, from which it was also separated by lofty walls. Zagal, alarmed at seeing his rival so near, immediately attempted to expel him from his position. The adherents of Aboul-Abdallah took arms in his defence : the two factions fought with all the fury that civil discord could inspire : every street was a field of battle, and Grenada was deluged with the blood of her unfortunate citizens. The wisest of the Moors, foreseeing that this fatal contest would prove the ruin of their kingdom, conjured the opposite factions to suspend their animosities, and to unite against the common enemy. Zagal, sensible of the importance of this advice, offered to share the throne with his nephew ; but the latter breathed nothing but vengeance, and refused to hearken to any proposals of accommodation.

Ferdinand profited by the divisions which

reigned among the Moors. The strong town of Loja, or Loxa, from which he had once been repulsed by Ali-Attar, surrendered by capitulation, which permitted the inhabitants to retire with their effects. Lhora, Zagra, Balnea, and several other places, opened their gates on the same conditions. After these successes Ferdinand ravaged the open country and then returned to Cordova.

In the mean while, the civil war in the Moorish capital continued with unabated fury, and exhibited a dreadful instance of the ambition of Princes, and the madness of nations. The two Kings sacrificed, without pity or remorse, the lives of their subjects to their own love of power and dominion. Zagal attempted to carry the quarter of Albaifim by assault, but was repulsed by the desperate valour of Abdallah and his adherents. The latter Prince apprehensive of being overwhelmed by the efforts of his rival, who held him closely blockaded, implored the aid of Ferdinand, who, in order to keep up the flame of civil war among the Moors, sent him a body of troops, and a great quantity of warlike stores.

A.D. 1487. Ferdinand soon after began the sixth campaign of the war at the head of an army of twelve thousand cavalry and forty thousand infantry. He commenced the siege of

Velez, made himself master of the suburbs, and began to batter the walls of the place with his artillery. Zagal being determined to risk every thing for the relief of a place, the loss of which would leave Malaga and several other cities exposed to the enemy, dispatched Rufvan, one of his generals, with a body of troops, and followed soon after in person, with an army of twenty thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry. But he did not leave Grenada without the precaution of placing a strong garrison in the Alhambra, and reinforcing the troops which blockaded the Albañim, lest, in his absence, his nephew should make himself master of the city, and seize on the throne.

The army of Zagal being inferior in number to that of the Christians, he resolved to act on the defensive, and, if possible, to throw succours into Velez. He neglected nothing to render his camp impregnable : he made choice of a position naturally strong, and fortified it with intrenchments and batteries. But the ardour of the Spaniards triumphed over all these obstacles : his intrenchments were forced ; and after a desperate resistance the Moors were obliged to abandon their camp and fly with precipitation. Zagal collected the scattered remains of his army and retreated towards Grenada ; but it would be difficult to express his astonishment,

grief, and indignation, when, on approaching the gates of the capital, he learned that the people had placed on the throne Aboul-Abdallah, his nephew and rival. The inhabitants of Velez, at the same time, seeing no hope of relief, surrendered on condition of liberty to retire with their effects; and those of several other cities followed their example. Malaga had not yet experienced the calamities of the war; but the tempest at last approached that city, and Ferdinand appeared before its walls. The inhabitants confiding in their numbers, and the strength of their fortifications, prepared for a vigorous defence, and for a long time sustained the assaults of the besiegers. Famine at last decided the fate of that important city, which being obliged to surrender at discretion, was given up to the plunder of the Christian soldiery.

A. D. 1488. The whole western part of the kingdom of Grenada being subdued, Ferdinand turned his arms towards the east. That part of the kingdom still remained faithful to Zagal, and rejected the authority of Aboul-Abdallah. The pestilence, during the space of two years had desolated Andalusia, and for some time cramped the efforts of the Spaniards. But Ferdinand, notwithstanding its ravages, took the field and laid siege to Vera. The inhabitants, dreading the fate of Malaga, surrendered with-

out much resistance, and their example was followed by Velez-el-Blanco, Velez-el-Ruvio, and many other towns and fortresses.

Zagal, in the mean while, prepared to arrest the progress of the Christians. He levied an army of above twenty thousand men; but these being chiefly raw and undisciplined troops, he confined himself to defensive operations. The Christian army divided into several bodies, carried fire and sword through the plains of Almeira, and ravaged the fertile territory of Baza. But that country being intersected by numerous canals, their scattered corps, intent only on plunder, were surprised by the Moors and exposed to a terrible slaughter. Ferdinand, seeing his forces greatly diminished by sickness as well as the sword, retired into his own dominions; and Zagal, profiting by his retreat, recovered many of the places which had recently submitted to the Christians.

Ferdinand, in the mean while, grew every day more desirous of completing the destruction of the Mahomedan empire in Spain, and employed the winter in making formidable preparations for the campaign. At Cordova he reviewed his army, which consisted  
 A. D. 1489. of twelve thousand cavalry and fifty thousand infantry, and if to these be added the numerous garrisons left in the captured cities

and fortresses, the armed force of Spain must have greatly exceeded a hundred thousand men. Ferdinand opened the campaign with the siege of Baza, one of the largest and strongest cities in the kingdom of Grenada. That place was extremely well fortified, and amply provided with arms, artillery, ammunition, and provisions: the garrison was numerous: the inhabitants were trained to arms; and nothing, in fine, was neglected that could tend to render it impregnable. On the approach of the Christians, the Moors, in different bodies, advanced into the plain and attacked their advanced corps while entangled among the numerous canals. In this situation the Christians were unable to defend themselves, and suffered considerable loss; but Ferdinand advancing with the main body of his army, the Moors were repulsed and pursued to the walls. The siege was immediately commenced, and carried on with vigour: the operations were exceedingly bloody: every day the Moors made vigorous sorties; and the attacks and repulses were almost incessant. The strength of the fortifications, the courage of their defenders, and the contagious maladies which thinned the camp of the besiegers, excited in the mind of Ferdinand some doubts concerning the result of this difficult and murderous siege. Some of his principal commanders even advised him to desist

from the enterprize, requesting him to consider that if he remained before Baza till the winter set in, the swelling of the rivers by the rains might render his retreat impracticable, and occasion the loss of his army. Ferdinand felt all the force of this reasoning; but foreseeing the ill consequences of a failure, he determined to push the siege with redoubled vigour. In order to repress the forties of the besieged, he caused a wall to be built, and a deep ditch to be dug quite round the city. The soldiers and the prisoners, with incessant labour, pushed forward this important work; and nine redoubts were constructed at regular distances. The artillery thundered incessantly on the city: and the Marquis of Cadiz, who had the direction of the batteries, endeavoured to second the ardour of his sovereign; and after a most murderous siege A. D. 1489, of seven months Baza surrendered Dec. 7. by an honourable capitulation.

The capture of this important city was followed by the submission of several others in the vicinity; and the good fortune of Ferdinand now began to reward, in a remarkable manner, his military toils. Zagal, despairing of being able to preserve the places that still remained in his possession, chose rather to surrender them to the Spanish monarch than to his nephew Aboul-Abdallah, who reigned in Grenada. He repair-

ed to Ferdinand, to whom he resigned Almeida, Guadix, and all the other towns and fortresses in his possession. The Christian monarch received him with the honours due to his rank, and softened his misfortunes by assigning him an ample estate in lands for his subsistence.\* After the close of this successful campaign, Ferdinand reviewed his army, and found that his loss amounted to twenty thousand men, of whom the greatest part had perished by sickness and hardships. The whole kingdom of

A. D. 1490.

Grenada was now reduced except the capital, and a small surrounding territory. Aboul-Abdallah, when liberated three years before by Ferdinand, had engaged to deliver Grenada to that Prince, when the rest of the kingdom should be conquered. The Spanish monarch therefore sent an ambassador to urge the fulfilment of the treaty. Abdallah, before he returned an answer to the summons, assembled the principal lawyers, military commanders, and citizens, and without mentioning the treaty, which he had always kept secret, acquainted them with the demand of Ferdinand. After deploring the calamities caused by their fatal divisions, he concluded his harangue by reminding them that

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\* By the permission of Ferdinand, Zagal afterwards retired into Africa. Cardonne, vol. 3. p. 310.

no alternative remained but either to submit to the law of the conqueror, or to bury themselves under the ruins of the city. The whole assembly, without a single dissentient voice, declared themselves ready to die with their arms in their hands rather than sink into servitude; and from that moment nothing was thought of but a vigorous defence. The Moorish King, in prolonging the contest, was probably destitute of hope; and his answer to Ferdinand revealed his true situation. He acknowledged his obligations and engagements to that Prince, but declared that he was not master of his own capital, and that on the least intimation of the treaty, the indignation of his subjects would be fatal to his life.

Grenada occupies a strong and pleasant situation on the banks of the Xenil and the Darro. The city is seated on two hills, which slope on the western side into a vast and fertile plain. Between the two hills runs the Darro, a small river, which, after traversing the city, falls into the Xenil. Grenada was at that time surrounded by a double range of walls, which being strengthened by a thousand and thirty towers, placed at regular distances, presented on every side a formidable front. That side of the city which faced the plain, being the most exposed to attack displayed a tremendous mass of fortifications and batteries. Two citadels, situated on the

two hills, contributed greatly to its defence: The largest of these, which was named the Alhambra, contained the palace of the Moorish Kings, and was so extensive that it had of itself the appearance of a city. The other, called the Albañim, was inclosed by a wall which separated it from the rest of the place. While Grenada was in the zenith of its prosperity, it is, by some writers, said to have contained four hundred thousand inhabitants. This, however, appears to be an exaggerated estimate, as the population of Cordova, when that city was the capital of the Omniades, is not represented as ever exceeding that number. As Grenada was the last refuge of the Moors, the continual influx of those who withdrew from the cities and provinces of Spain, which successively fell under the domination of the Christians, must, indeed, have rendered that capital extremely populous; but many years of civil and foreign war had thinned its crowded streets; and it is probable that the whole mass of its inhabitants could scarcely amount to more than a hundred thousand when they were left to contend against the formidable power of the Christians.

May 9.           Such was the state of Grenada  
A. D. 1491.   when Ferdinand appeared before its  
walls, in the ninth year after the commencement  
of the war. His ardour to plant the standard

of Christ on its towers was seconded by that of his consort, and was communicated to their subjects. Near seventy thousand veteran troops marched under the banners of Ferdinand, and were animated by the presence of Isabella. The states of Castile and Arragon voted ample supplies: the principal cities contributed with alacrity to the glorious enterprise; and their patriotic liberality was emulated by the clergy, desirous of signalizing their zeal in a cause consecrated by religion.

Ferdinand, however, foresaw that a city of so great strength, with an army entire for its garrison, might long resist the efforts of his arms, and conceived that famine would be the most effectual means of reducing the Moors to submission. He commenced his operations by burning the crops on the ground, destroying the vines, olives, and fruit trees, and converting the delightful and fertile environs of the city into a barren desert. Parties of Moors appeared in the plain and attempted to oppose the ravages of the Christians; but they were constantly repulsed and compelled to retreat to the city. After these destructive operations, Ferdinand commenced a more regular mode of attack. He erected a number of batteries, which kept up an incessant fire on the city. The Moors made desperate sorties, and almost daily attacked the

lines of the besiegers ; but they were always driven back with a dreadful carnage. Convinced at last of the inefficacy of their impetuous ardour, they still flattered themselves that the approach of winter would compel the Christians to raise the siege. But the measures of Ferdinand soon deprived them of this hope. In order to shelter his troops from the inclemencies of the weather, he commanded a number of huts to be hastily constructed of mud and stone, covered with tile, and ranged in regular streets like a town. The work was carried forward with indefatigable ardour ; and the camp was suddenly changed into a city, inclosed with ramparts and ditches. The piety of the founders gave to this new city the name of Santa Fe, or Holy Faith ; and its expeditious construction as well as the greatness of the work demonstrated to the citizens of Grenada the resolution and perseverance of the besiegers.

The city, in the mean while, suffered all the miseries of a most horrible famine. Affailed by the sword, and exasperated by hunger, the inhabitants abandoned themselves to the violence of despair. Assembling in tumultuous crowds, they surrounded the Alhambra, menaced the life of their sovereign, and loaded him with execrations as the author of all their calamities. As all provisions of every kind were exhausted,

and no hope remained of alleviating the famine which reigned in the city, and threatened the total destruction of the people, it was resolved to make proposals for a surrender. The rigorous season of the year, and the joy of Ferdinand on the attainment of the object of his ambition, the reward of more than nine years of military toil, induced that Prince to grant an honourable capitulation. The principal articles were, that the city of Grenada, with its forts, should be delivered up to the troops of Ferdinand and Isabella ; that the Moors should swear allegiance to them and their successors as their lawful sovereigns : that all the Christian slaves should be liberated without ransom : that the Mahomedans should profess their religion without any restraint, and retain their mosques, with the revenues attached to those religious foundations : that justice should be administered to them by judges of their own nation, but nominated by the King : that in consideration of their losses by the war, the Moors should be exempt from all imposts during the space of three years : that after the expiration of that term they should pay the same taxes as they had paid to their native Princes ; and that those who might chuse to retire into Africa should have permission to depart with their effects, and be conveyed thither in vessels furnished by Spain.

The treaty being concluded, the first care of Ferdinand was to provide for the immediate wants of his new subjects; and no sooner were the hostages delivered for its due fulfilment, than plenty was poured into the famished city. On the 2d of January, A. D. 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella made their triumphal entry into the city of Grenada, which had, during a siege of eight months, resisted the efforts of their arms. As they proceeded towards the Alhambra they were met by Aboul-Abdallah, attended by a small party of horse. The Moorish King, alighting from his courser, with a sorrowful heart delivered to Ferdinand the keys of the Alhambra, and of all the other fortresses belonging to the city. Ferdinand received the vanquished monarch with kindness, assured him of a safe retreat, and assigned him an income suitable to his dignity.\* In his journey to the place allotted for his residence, Aboul-Abdallah, on arriving at the heights near Padul, took, from a lofty eminence, his last view of Grenada. On contemplating that great city, and the magnificent palace of the Alhambra glittering at a distance, the recollection of his fallen fortune rushed

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\* Abdallah, some time afterwards, obtained permission from Ferdinand to retire into Africa, and fixed his residence at Fez. Cardonne, vol. 3. p. 320.

upon his mind: he burst into tears, exclaiming in the anguish of his heart, "O God Omnipotent!" The excess of his grief put a stop to his utterance; but his complaints were reproved by the indignant reply of the Sultaneſs, his mother: "Thou doſt well to weep like a woman for that kingdom which thou haſt not the reſolution to die for like a man."

The inmoſt receſſes and beauties of the Alhambra were thrown open to the eyes of Ferdinand; and if the moment of ſucceſs could admit of admonition, the ſight of the gate of judgment, and the frequent inſcription on the walls, "There is no conqueror but God," might have checked the insolence of proſperity, and have called the Chriſtian monarch and his courtiers to ſerious reflections on the inſtability of human grandeur, while they ſurveyed thoſe wonders which have reſiſted the hand of time, and to this day excite the admiration of travellers.\*

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\* The Alhambra is yet almoſt entire. It covers a vaſt extent of ground, and conſiſts of an irregular maſs of buildings in a ſtile of architecture totally different both from the Grecian and Gothic. The ceilings and walls of the apartments are incruſted with ſtucco and moſaic, and embellished with painting and gilding in the richeſt profuſion. The courts, colonades, fountains, baths, &c. aſtoniſh the ſpectator. The proſpects from the balconies are extenſive and inexpressibly fine.

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## CHAP. XI.

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Reflections on the conquest of Grenada.—Expulsion of the Jews from Spain.—Discovery of America.—Circumstances which led to that event.—Columbus is ill treated by Ferdinand.—Small account made of the discovery of the new world.—Ferdinand assists the King of Naples in expelling the French.—Political state of Castile.—Of Arragon.—Ferdinand depresses the nobles and extends the royal prerogative.—Obtains the title of Catholic.—His domestic misfortunes.—Rebellion of the Moors.—Ferdinand obtains possession of Naples.—Wars between Spain and France.—Death of Isabella.—Her character.—Intrigues of Ferdinand.—Conduct of Cardinal Ximenes.—League of Cambray.—Ferdinand seizes Navarre.—Makes great preparations for a war with France.—Death of Ferdinand.—His character.—Effects of his reign.

THOSE who delight in florid declamations against the ambition of Kings, will readily ascribe to the prevalence of that passion in the breast of Ferdinand, the sanguinary war which terminated in the conquest of Grenada. But the attentive observer will readily perceive that not only ambition but the soundest policy suggested the enterprize. The expulsion of the Moors had, for ages, been the grand object of the monarchs of Castile; and on the accession of Ferdinand, the states of the kingdom had imposed on him

the obligation of making the attempt. He fortunately succeeded, and a hostile power was extirpated which, so long as it existed in Spain, must ever have disturbed her peace and impeded her prosperity. But if the reduction of the Moors was a measure of public utility, the expulsion of the Jews, which immediately followed, was equally unjust, tyrannical, and impolitic; equally injurious to that people, and to the interests of Spain. It has already been observed that from an early period great numbers of Jews had been settled in that country. They had suffered greivous persecutions under the Gothic monarchs. At length the oppressions under which they laboured impelled them to favour the views of the Arabian invaders, who to the secret or open aid of the Jews were in no small degree indebted for their success. Policy and gratitude induced the conquerors to continue their liberal treatment of this outcast nation, which had been so much persecuted by the Kings and synods of Spain. The change of their condition was the pledge of the fidelity of the Jews; and the alliance between the disciples of Moses and Mahommed was maintained till the final era of their common expulsion. In the fifteenth century the human mind was still darkened by religious prejudice; and Ferdinand, who by solemn treaty had bound himself to protect the

Moors, began a cruel persecution of the Jews : the only alternative allowed to that unfortunate people was that of embracing the Christian religion or quitting his dominions. Six months were allowed for their final decision. Their attachment to the law of Moses was superior to every other consideration : most of the Jews transported themselves to Africa with the effects they could conceal from the vigilance of their oppressors ; and their expulsion was an additional blow to the population and industry of Spain.

The evils under which the peninsula, during a series of ages had groaned, seemed to be compensated by an event not less extraordinary than important to Europe. The discovery of the mariners' compass in the beginning of the 14th century marked a new æra in the history of navigation, and eventually produced a great revolution in commerce. No sooner had this grand discovery been made, than the Portuguese and Spaniards were among the first to avail themselves of the advantages which it afforded ; and abandoning the ancient mode of confining their timid course to the shores launched boldly into the ocean. The enterprising spirit of the Spaniards had led them to the Canaries,\* or Fortunate Islands ; and

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\* The Canaries had been discovered by the Carthagenians. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 6. cap. 37. but the knowledge of them was afterwards lost.

the Portuguese confined by land within narrow limits, which circumscribed their sphere of activity and enterprise on the continent, considered the ocean as a new theatre of adventure. The comprehensive genius and extensive views of Prince Henry, son of John I. stimulated and directed their ardour. Under his auspices the Portuguese outstripped all other nations in geographical and nautical science. The spirit of maritime adventure and discovery received a check by his death ; but it soon revived with renewed ardour. During the fifteenth century, the Portuguese, in successive voyages, had explored all the western coast of Africa. In the reign of John II. and the year 1486 of the Christian æra, Bartholomew Diaz, after encountering a succession of terrible storms, in unknown seas, saw his labours and perseverance crowned by a view of the lofty promontory which forms the southernmost extremity of that continent. But the tempestuous winds, the mountainous waves, the shattered condition of his ships, and the turbulent spirit of his crew, prevented his farther progress. The Portuguese called the promontory Cabo Tormentoso, or the Stormy Cape, a name expressive of the boisterous elements, which forbade their nearer approach ; but the discernment of their sovereign changed it to that of Cabo del Esperanza, or the Cape

of Good Hope, the auspicious omen of future success.\*

The Portuguese had been hitherto entitled to the chief glory of exploring the unknown shores of the ocean, and of opening a new field to human enterprise. But a new and extraordinary character, whose vast and fertile genius must ever command the admiration of posterity, turned the scale of maritime renown in favour of Spain. Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, had acquired a high reputation for nautical skill. For some years his adventurous spirit had been confined within the limits of the Mediterranean, or exercised in voyages to the coasts of Iceland: his courage had been displayed in various cruises against the Mahommedans and the Venetians: in an obstinate engagement with the latter, the ship on board which he served, taking fire, he owed his life to his admirable presence of mind and his extraordinary dexterity. Although at the distance of almost six miles from land he threw himself into the sea, and, with the assistance of an oar, reached the shore with safety.† Soon after this extraordinary escape, he repaired to Lisbon, and engaged in the service of Portugal, the grand

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\* The Portuguese, under Vasco da Gama, first doubled the Cape, A. D. 1497.

† *Life of Columbus*, by his son Ferdinand, cap. 5.

school of nautical enterprize. His marriage with a Portuguese lady, the daughter of Bartholomew Perestrallo, one of the captains who had discovered the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira, put him in possession of the charts of that celebrated navigator. This circumstance contributed to stimulate the ardour of Columbus in his pursuit of nautical renown: he compared, attentively, the observations of modern geographers and mariners, with the conjectures of the ancients; and his vigorous and investigating mind revolved new schemes of discovery.

The spherical figure of the earth had long been known, and its magnitude was ascertained with a tolerable degree of accuracy. But geographical science was yet in its infancy; and the situation and extent of those parts of the globe that were distant from Europe were very imperfectly known. This was particularly the case respecting the oriental regions of Asia, which, in the European maps, were represented as extending towards the east many degrees beyond their real limits.\* This geographical error induced

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\* Marinus Tyrius had supposed the long. of the western frontier of China to be 225 deg. to the east of the Canary Islands. Ptolemy diminished the distance to 175 deg. *Geogr. lib. 1. cap. 11.* The long. given by Ptolemy, however, was still 60 deg. too far to the east; and the Travels of Marco Polo, in the 13th century, who wanted either the requisite skill or the necessary instruments for making astronomical observations, seemed to confirm the errors of the ancients.

Columbus to form the adventurous project of sailing by a westerly course to India, the possibility of which had been eighteen centuries before supposed by Aristotle, whose opinion had received the decided support of the philosopher Seneca.\* The geography of Ptolemy, which had not been rectified by subsequent information, encouraged the attempt in diminishing, by sixty degrees, the distance between Europe and the oriental regions of Asia; and the map, in the palace of the Doge of Venice, which is supposed to have been constructed to illustrate the travels of Marco Polo, and is evidently anterior to the discovery of America, was calculated to keep up the delusion.† These mistakes, however, led Columbus to an attempt from which resulted the discovery of a new continent, and a revolution in the commerce of the whole world, an event which has already produced, and which most certainly will yet produce, other revolutions incalculable in their magnitude, importance, and effects.

Columbus had no sooner conceived the design than he was impatient for its execution. With his enterprising genius and dauntless courage, speculation led immediately to action; and he

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\* Aristotle de Cælo, lib. 2. cap. 14. Senec. Quæst. Nat. lib. 1.

† Vide Dr. Vincent Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, part 2.

was desirous of bringing the truth of his theory to the test of experiment. But the low state of his finances rendered it necessary to procure some powerful patronage to his plans. Desirous that his native country should reap the fruits of his enterprising labours, he made the first offer of his services to the republic of Genoa ; but his project was rejected as chimerical. His reliance was now chiefly on Portugal, where his talents stood high in the public estimation, and the reigning monarch, John II. was the great patron and promoter of nautical discovery. But the King unfortunately referred the affair to a council, which had advised the pursuit of the voyage to India by doubling the southernmost promontory of Africa. The members of this board of navigation could not submit to condemn their own theory ; but they endeavoured, clandestinely, to profit by the ideas of Columbus, and to arrogate to themselves the glory that might result from his project. While they protracted their deliberations on the affair, they advised the King to dispatch, secretly, a vessel on the course which he had pointed out ; but the ungenerous attempt met with a deserved disappointment : the pilot, after having been a long time at sea without discovering any land, returned to Lisbon, and represented the under-

taking as equally extravagant and dangerous. Columbus, indignant at this treachery, instantly quitted the court of Portugal, and resolved to make application to the Kings of England and Spain. Henry VII. who then swayed the English sceptre, was too cautious and too avaricious to incur any expence in promoting an enterprize which appeared so romantic, and of which the advantages were distant and uncertain. Ferdinand, King of Spain, was guided by the same narrow policy. Columbus having dispatched his brother Bartholomew to London, repaired to Spain at the time when Ferdinand and Isabella were engaged in the war with Grenada. The monarchs of England and Spain rejected the proposal as the scheme of a chimerical projector. After many sollicitations and much waste of time, Columbus, disgusted at the cold reception he had met with from Ferdinand, and ignorant of the ill success of his brother's application to Henry, resolved on a journey to London, and had already left Santa Fe, when he was overtaken by a messenger from Isabella, who invited him to return.

This promising change, which gave the first dawn of hope to Columbus, was effected by the favourable representations of Juan Perez, guardian of the monastery of Rabida, who had

thoroughly examined his theory, and demonstrated to Isabella the importance of the project. His exertions were vigorously seconded by two powerful and enlightened patrons, Don Alonso de Quintanilla, comptroller of the finances in Castile, and Louis de Santangel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Arragon. The successful termination of the war with Grenada having left the court of Castile at leisure to engage in new undertakings, these two ministers painted, in glowing colours, to the sanguine and enterprising Isabella, the glory that might accrue from the discovery of new regions in which Christianity might be established; representing, that if she did not immediately close with the proposals of Columbus, some other Prince, more fortunate or more adventurous, would patronise his undertakings, and Spain would for ever lament the fatal timidity which had excluded her from the honours and advantages which Providence had once put it into her power to enjoy. Isabella readily adopted those sentiments, and in consideration of the low state of the royal finances, generously offered to pledge her own jewels in order to raise the money which might be required for carrying the project into execution. Santangel, however, prevented her from having recourse to this mortifying expedient, by advancing the sum that was

requisite for the undertaking.\* The whole of the expence did not exceed four thousand pounds sterling : one eighth part was defrayed by Columbus himself, in consideration of which he was entitled to one eighth of the profits : Isabella furnished the rest. A treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed that Columbus should be constituted Viceroy of all the countries which he might discover, and High Admiral in all the adjacent seas, and that these offices should be hereditary in his family, together with the tenths of the clear profits arising from the productions and commerce of all those new territories. Ferdinand joined with Isabella in the contract, but refused to take any part in fitting out the expedition.

Thus, after eight years of tedious solicitation in Spain and the other countries of Europe, Columbus at length saw himself enabled to make the grand experiment on which he hoped to lay the foundation of his fortune and his fame. About eight months after the conquest of Grenada he sailed from Palos, in Andalusia, with three small vessels and ninety men, to traverse

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\* Herrera, Dec. 1. lib. 1. c. 8. The difficulty of raising so trifling a sum may, in modern times, seem astonishing ; but if we consider the scarcity of money in Europe, and particularly in Spain, from the period of the subversion of the Roman empire until the opening of the American mines, four thousand pounds was, in that age, a very considerable sum.

a vast and unexplored ocean, in search of a new world in the western hemisphere. Before their departure, Columbus, and all his fellow adventurers, marched in solemn procession to the monastery of Rabida, where they confessed their sins and received the holy sacrament ; and the next morning, August 3, 1492, he set sail in presence of a numerous crowd of spectators, who supplicated heaven for the prosperous issue of the voyage, an event, however, which they rather wished than expected.

On the 13th August the squadron arrived at the Canary Islands, from whence, after having repaired some defects in his vessels, and laid in a fresh stock of provisions, he took his departure on the 6th September. After having steered with a steady gale till the 1st of October, the squadron had proceeded 770 leagues to the west of the Canaries: Columbus, however, apprehending that his men would be intimidated by the prodigious length of the navigation, concealed from them nearly two hundred leagues of that distance, and fortunately none of the pilots were sufficiently skilful to discover the deception. But after being so long at sea, and constantly disappointed in their hopes of discovering land, they began to regard themselves as engaged in prosecuting a chimerical scheme, and following a desperate adventurer to certain destruction.

• Their apprehensions excited a spirit of mutiny among the crews of the different ships. It was unanimously agreed that Columbus should be compelled to desist from the further prosecution of the hopeless enterprise, and to direct his course back to Europe as the only measure that could prevent their destruction. Some of them even proposed to throw him overboard, as the most certain and expeditious mode of proceeding. Columbus exhausted all his arts of persuasion to calm their fears and raise their expectations. By the force of his arguments he prevailed on them to continue the voyage sometime longer; but after holding on their course several days, with no better success, their hopes gave way to despair and impatience. The officers, who had hitherto adhered to the opinions of Columbus and supported his authority, now took part with the sailors. They assembled tumultuously on the quarter deck, expostulated with the commander, and with menaces required him instantly to tack about and steer back for Spain. Columbus, perceiving that it would be of no avail to have recourse to his former arts and arguments, hit upon another expedient: he solemnly promised that if they would persevere only three days longer, in case that land should not, within that time, be discovered, he would instantly abandon the enterprise and

return to Europe. The officers and sailors, notwithstanding their rage and impatience, accepted the proposal, which Columbus had not made without due consideration. The presages of discovering land were so numerous that he deemed them infallible. The soil brought up by the sounding line, the appearance of land birds, the branch of a tree with fresh berries, taken up by one of the ships, the appearance of the clouds round the setting sun, the mildness of the air, and the variableness of the winds, all concurred to convince him that land was at no great distance. His expectations were soon realized. On the 12th October land was discovered. Te Deum was instantly sung on board of all the ships in solemn thanksgiving to the Almighty. And the crews, throwing themselves at the feet of their commander, implored his pardon for the trouble which they had given him through their incredulity and ignorance.

The land which Columbus had discovered was one of the Bahama islands. On the same day he took possession of the country for the crown of Castile ; but from the poverty of the inhabitants he soon perceived that these were not the opulent regions of which he was in search. In order to pursue his object, he again put to sea, and discovered the islands of Cuba and Hayti, the latter of which has since been known by the

names of Hispaniola and St. Domingo, and has now, under a Negro government, resumed its original name. As Hayti appeared to abound more with gold than any of the other islands, he erected a fort on its shores and established the first Spanish colony in the new world.

Columbus, after providing for the safety of his infant colony, set sail for Spain. Before he reached the Azores he was assailed by so tremendous a hurricane that no hope of safety appeared to be left. In this critical and perilous situation the perplexity of Columbus may be easily imagined. All sense of his personal danger was lost amidst considerations which he deemed of infinitely greater importance than his own preservation. The heart-rending reflection that all knowledge of his discoveries would perish, and his name be only remembered as that of a chimerical projector, tortured his mind with a peculiar degree of anxiety. At this momentous crisis, in which his fame as well as his fate was involved, he acted with that sagacity and presence of mind which so eminently distinguished his character. Retiring to his cabin, he wrote upon parchment a brief account of his voyage, of the situation and riches of the countries which he had discovered, and of the colony that he had left. Having sealed up this writing he addressed it to Ferdinand and Isabella,

annexing, in their names, a promise of a thousand ducats to any person by whom it should be delivered. He then wrapped it up in an oil-cloth and inclosed it in a cake of wax, and having put it in a cask, closely stopped, threw it into the sea, hoping that some fortunate accident might preserve this memorial of his discoveries.\*

Providence, however, interposed: the tempest ceased, and after touching at the Azores Columbus continued his voyage. But on approaching the coast of Spain, he was attacked by another violent storm, which obliged him to take shelter in the Tagus. At length, after a singular train of adventures and perils, he arrived at Palos on the 15th of March, 1493, seven months and eleven days after his setting sail from that port on his ever memorable expedition. He landed amidst the congratulations and plaudits of the people, who accompanied him and his crew to the church, to return thanks to heaven, which had crowned with success an enterprise unparalleled in the annals of past ages. The court was then at Barcelona: and Ferdinand and Isabella

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\* Vide Life of Columbus, Herrera and Robertson's Hist. Amer. vol. 1. p. 117, and note 16. Warned by this danger, Columbus prepared another document of the same kind, which he inclosed in the same manner in a cask attached to the poop of the vessel, in order to preserve the memory of his discoveries in case that he and his crew should perish. Vide Dr. Robertson's Hist. Amer. vol. 1. note 16.

were no sooner apprized of his arrival than they were impatient to hear, from his own mouth, a detail of his adventures and discoveries. Columbus received, in terms the most respectful and flattering, an invitation to court; and during his journey through Spain the people every where crowded from the adjacent country, expressing their admiration and applause. His entrance into Barcelona was, by the order of the sovereigns, conducted with a solemnity suitable to so extraordinary an event. The people, whom he had brought from the newly discovered countries, marched first, and by their singular appearance and dress astonished the spectators. After them were carried the ornaments of gold, fashioned by the rude art of the natives, with grains of gold and dust of the same metal found in the mountains and torrents. Next appeared the various commodities and curious productions of the torrid zone. Columbus himself closed the procession, while the people gazed with admiration on the extraordinary man who had performed so wonderful achievements. His triumph indeed was more truly great than those of the Roman conquerors: they had desolated, he had explored the globe, and without the effusion of blood or the exercise of cruelty had annexed a new world to the crown of Castile. He was received in the most honourable manner

by Ferdinand and Isabella ; and being placed in a chair opposite to the throne he related, in a composed and dignified manner, all the particulars of his voyage. As soon as the narrative was ended, the King and Queen, on their knees, returned thanks to the Almighty for the discovery of those regions which promised so many and so great advantages to Spain. Every mark of royal favour was conferred on Columbus. The privileges expressed in the original agreement were confirmed to him and his heirs : his family was ennobled ; and he was treated, on every occasion, with all the ceremonious respect due to persons of the highest distinction ; but what was most gratifying to his active and enterprising mind, was a commission to equip, without delay, an armament of such force as might enable him to establish new colonies, and to prosecute his plans of discovery. In the mean while Ferdinand and Isabella deemed it necessary, after the example of the Portuguese, to acquire what in that age was considered as a valid title to their new acquisitions. The Roman Pontiff, in quality of the vicar and representative of Christ, was supposed to have a right of dominion over all countries inhabited by Infidels. Ferdinand and Isabella, therefore, obtained from Pope Alexander VI. a grant of all the countries that should be discovered in

the western hemisphere, as his Holiness had assigned to the Portuguese those in the east; and a meridian, passing a hundred leagues to the west of the Azores, was to be the boundary between the dominions of Portugal and Spain.

Columbus had, from the first, imagined that the countries which he had discovered were a part of those vast regions of Asia then comprehended by Europeans under the general name of India. Not only the errors of the ancient geographers,\* but also the productions of the newly discovered countries by their similarity to those which were brought from India, seemed to confirm his opinion, which, indeed, was generally adopted throughout Europe. From this circumstance the American islands acquired the appellation of West-Indies, and although the error has been long since detected, the name still remains.

The discovery of a new world had excited a general spirit of enterprise throughout Spain, and volunteers of every rank offered themselves as adventurers in the new expedition, which was soon in readiness to sail. The fleet consisted of seventeen ships, and carried fifteen hundred men, among them were several of noble families,

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\* See the mistakes of Marinus Tyrius, Ptolemy, &c. already mentioned.

with every thing requisite for conquest or colonization. With this armament Columbus set sail from the port of Cadiz on the 25th of September, 1493, and on the 2d of November arrived at Deseada, one of the Caribbee or Leeward Islands, most of which he successively visited. On the 22d of November he arrived on the coast of Hispaniola, where he found that the Spaniards, whom he had left behind, had been massacred by the natives in consequence of their disorderly conduct. He immediately set about forming a new settlement; but found himself involved in a war with the natives and harrassed by the insubordination of the colonists. In 1498, however, he visited the mouth of the Oronooko, and discovered the continent of South America.

The adventurous enterprize of Columbus, the boldest that was ever undertaken by man, has rendered the name of its author immortal, and increased, beyond calculation, the commerce and wealth of Europe. But its immediate results were not such as satisfied the avarice of the court, or realized the expectations of rapacious adventurers. Hispaniola, and other neighbouring islands, were easily conquered; but the quantity of gold that could be collected among the inhabitants was not considerable, and for some time the remittances would scarcely defray

the expence of the armaments. Columbus had fet out with the commiffion of Viceroy over all the countries that he fhould difcover, and the turbulent chara ter of the Spanifh adventurers obliged him to exercife fome feverity in his government. The multiplied complaints of the colonifts were encouraged by the courtiers, who envyed his glory. Ferdinand was eafily perfuaded to afcribe to his rapacity or mifconduct the fmallnefs of the remittances, and the mind of Ifabella, the great patronefs of Columbus, was at length prejudiced againft him by the number and boldnefs of his accufers. Francis Bovedilla was fent to Hispaniola to affume the government of the ifland. On the arrival of the new Viceroy, Columbus was loaded with irons and fent home to Spain. Ferdinand, however, was fenfible that all Europe would regard, with horror, this treatment of a man whose merits were fo conspicuous, and whose fame would be immortal; and Ifabella refumed her former sentiments in his favour. Columbus was fet at liberty and invited to court, where he vindicated his own conduct, and difplayed the malevolence of his enemies. His innocence was acknowledged; but his wrongs were not redreffed. His demand of being reinfated in the viceroyalty of the newly difcovered countries was constantly eluded under various pretexts, notwithstanding

the hereditary right to that office granted to him and his descendants by the original contract.

This ungenerous treatment, however, could not damp the enterprising ardour of Columbus. About the end of the year 1497, the Portuguese, under Vasco di Gama, had doubled the Cape of Good Hope and proceeded to India. To discover a shorter passage to that rich and celebrated country was the original scheme of Columbus, and it was still his favourite object. Although in declining age and worn out with fatigue, he offered to undertake another voyage in order to ascertain the practicability of his plan. The voyages of the Portuguese to India yielded immense returns of profit in the most precious commodities. Ferdinand and Isabella were roused at the prospect; and happy in finding an honourable pretext for removing from court a man with whose demands they had resolved not to comply, and whose merits all Europe acknowledged, they gave to Columbus the command of four small barks, the largest of which did not exceed seventy tons, and with this insignificant squadron he set sail on the 9th of May, 1502, on his last voyage of discovery. In this expedition he discovered all the coast of the continent from Cape Gracios a Dios to Porto Bello, in the hope of finding on the isthmus of

Darien, a strait which might open a passage to India. He experienced innumerable and almost incredible hardships, dangers, and difficulties, from the fury of the elements, the mutinous spirit of his men, and the malevolence of his enemies, but amidst these embarrassing circumstances he invariably displayed the sagacity and presence of mind which had distinguished his conduct on every former occasion.\*

The low estimation in which so important an event as the discovery of a new world was held by Ferdinand, may be ascribed to the circumstances of the age, as well as to his avaricious disposition. Commerce had not yet attracted the general attention of Europe : its nature was so little understood that where immediate gain was not acquired, the hope of distant benefit was often disregarded. The rich mines of America were not yet discovered : the prospect of remote commercial advantages was all that it yet afforded ; and the Spanish monarch considered his country as a loser by its acquisitions beyond the Atlantic. Ferdinand was active and enterprising as well as circumspect and parsimonious ; but his attention was turned to things nearer

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\* For the first voyage of Columbus vide *Ferd. Life of Columbus*, from cap. 15 to cap. 40 ; and *Herrera Dec.* 1. lib. 1. c. 9. to lib. 2. c. 3d. For his subsequent voyages, see *Life of Columbus*, from cap. 41 to cap. 108 ; and *Herrera Dec.* 1. lib. 2. c. 5. to lib. 6. c. 12.

home, and which appeared to him of much greater importance than distant and unknown regions.

Charles VIII. King of France, had resolved to assert, in arms, the claims of the House of Anjou on the kingdom of Naples ; but previous to the commencement of his famous Italian expedition, it was necessary to secure the neutrality of the other great powers of Europe. Of these Ferdinand was the most dangerous and the most difficult to conciliate : he alarmed Charles with his hostile preparations ; and the French monarch, in order to accomplish his designs on Italy, ceded Roussillon and Cerdagne to Spain. After a splendid and rapid progress through Italy, Charles made an easy conquest of Naples ; but his success alarmed the jealousy of the Spanish monarch, who, notwithstanding his promised neutrality, formed a league with the Italian powers for the purpose of expelling the French. The flattering prospects of Charles were suddenly clouded by the unexpected intelligence of the hostile confederacy ; and his brilliant expedition was terminated by a precipitate retreat. Ferdinand, the fugitive King of Naples, unfurled his standard, and being supported by the troops of Spain under the command of Gonzalvo de Cordova, surnamed the Great Captain, he again entered his capital, and

recovered the greatest part of his dominions. But death arrested the career of his prosperity : he expired after a short sickness, and was succeeded by his uncle Frederic, who, in a tide  
1496. of uninterrupted success, swept away the few garrisons of France that remained in the Kingdom of Naples. And Charles, finding his resources unequal to the renewal of the war in Italy, concluded a truce with the Spanish monarch.

But Ferdinand, who was never inactive, employed every interval of leisure in extending the power of the crown and depressing the aristocracy. During the perpetual wars which, from the time of the Arabian invasion to the conquest of Grenada, had desolated, in its turn, every province of Spain, the sovereigns had depended so much on the nobles that it had been necessary to conciliate their affections by successive grants of new privileges. The different provinces were wrested from the Mahommedans gradually and with great difficulty. The nobles, who followed the standard of the Prince, claimed and obtained a great share in the lands which their valour had won from the enemy. Thus the chief part of the landed property was parcelled out among the Barons, with such jurisdictions and immunities as raised them almost to the rank of independent sovereigns.

Other causes, but proceeding from the same state of things, had raised the cities of Spain to a high degree of consideration and influence: the open country, being exposed to perpetual ravages, a view to self preservation obliged persons of every rank and description to fix their residence in fortified places. In Spain, as in other countries, the castles of the Barons might have afforded a secure retreat from the depredations of banditti; but they were unable to resist the attacks of powerful armies. Cities, where numbers were united for mutual defence, were the only places that presented a prospect of safety. Several of these cities gradually became capitals of petty states; and many of their inhabitants being persons of distinction they acquired considerable influence. As it was impossible to carry on continual wars without some other military force than the feudal levies, it was necessary to have some troops in constant pay, and as the lands of the nobles were exempt from taxation, the charge of supporting soldiers fell wholly on the cities. The Spanish Kings, therefore, relying on them for aid, found it necessary to conciliate their attachment by concessions, which extended their immunities and increased their power. Thus Spain became not only divided into different kingdoms, but in every kingdom the different powers of the

cities and the aristocracy balanced each other, while the royal authority was little more than a name.

The representatives of the cities of Castile had, at an early period, obtained a seat in the Cortes, and acquired such credit and influence as was very uncommon in an age when, in the other European countries, the power and pre-eminence of the nobles had not only eclipsed the splendour of the sovereign, but annihilated the liberties of the people. In Spain the proud and jealous spirit of the aristocracy had not been able to exclude the cities from a considerable share in the government. The Cortes had the right of imposing taxes, enacting laws, and redressing grievances; and it was one of their established maxims not to grant the King any pecuniary aid till he had given his assent to such regulations as they deemed beneficial to the kingdom. A judicious and elegant historian, in speaking of the Spaniards soon after the commencement of the sixteenth century, says, “the principles of  
“liberty seem to have been better understood at  
“this period by the Castilians, than by any other  
“people in Europe: they had acquired more  
“liberal ideas with respect to their own rights  
“and privileges: they had formed more bold  
“and generous sentiments concerning govern-  
“ment; and discovered an extent of political

“knowledge to which the English themselves did  
 “not attain till more than a century after-  
 “wards.”\*

In Arragon the regal power was still more limited. The form of government was monarchical, but its genius was republican. The Cortes were composed of four branches: the nobility of the first rank; the equestrian order, or second class of nobles; the representatives of the cities; and the ecclesiastical order, consisting of the dignitaries of the church and the representatives of the inferior clergy. This assembly had the sole power of imposing taxes, coining money, declaring war, and concluding peace.† The Cortes assembled every year or every two years; and the King could neither dissolve nor prorogue them without their own consent.

But the most singular institution among the Arragonesc was the election of a Justiza, or supreme judge. The office of this magistrate greatly resembled that of the Ephori among the Lacedemonians: he was the protector of the people and the supreme interpreter of the laws: his person was sacred and his authority almost unlimited. His power extended not only to all

\* Roberts. Hist. cap. 5. vol. 4. book 12. p. 335.

† Hieron Blanca Comment. rer. Arag. ap. Script. Hispan. vol. 3. p. 752.

judicial affairs, but also to the government of the kingdom. By his sole authority he could displace any of the King's ministers, and call them to account, while he himself was accountable to none but the Cortes. The form of the oath of allegiance was calculated to remind the sovereign of his duties and his dependence. It was pronounced by the Justiza in the name of the subjects, and was expressed in these words, "We, who are each of us as good as you, and who are altogether more powerful than you, promise obedience to your government if you maintain our rights and liberties, not otherwise."\* The personal as well as the political rights of the people were more extensive and more accurately defined than in any other kingdom of Europe; and no native of Arragon could be put to the torture, nor be convicted, except by fair and legal evidence.

Such were the ideas of liberty which prevailed in Spain when Ferdinand and Isabella united the crowns of Arragon and Castile. But it does not appear that the peasantry partook in the privileges of the cities: the baronial powers were exorbitant, and the royal authority was certainly too much limited by that of the grandees. All the

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\* Dr. Robertson has given us the form of this oath from a Spanish writer of high authority, Don Antonio Perez, a native of Arragon, and secretary to Philip II. *Robert. Hist. cap. 5. vol. 1. p. 183, 414.*

efforts of the Spanish Kings to extend the prerogative of the crown had hitherto proved ineffectual. But after the annihilation of the Mahommedan power, by the conquest of Grenada, one of the great objects of Ferdinand was the reduction of the aristocracy. In this undertaking he proceeded with that cautious policy and persevering vigour which formed so prominent a trait in his character. Under various pretexts, sometimes by force, but generally by the decrees of the courts of law, he wrested from the barons a considerable part of the lands of which they had extorted grants from the weakness of his predecessors. Instead of intrusting the whole conduct of affairs to the *grandees*, who had been accustomed to fill every department of the administration, he often transacted business of the greatest importance without their intervention, and committed many offices of power and trust to persons of inferior rank who were devoted to his interests. He introduced a greater degree of state and dignity into the court, and gradually impressed his subjects with a respect which they had not been accustomed to pay to their former Kings.

The annexation of the Grand Masterships of the three military orders of St. Jago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, to the crown, was another expedient by which Ferdinand greatly augmented

his revenues and power. The zeal or superstition of the times in which they had been founded, had bestowed on these holy warriors so liberal donations that they soon engrossed a considerable share of national property; and the Masterships of these wealthy Orders placed the persons, who held them, nearly on a level with the sovereign. Ferdinand, unwilling that the nobles, who were already too formidable, should derive additional credit and influence from the government of those powerful fraternities, resolved to wrest it out of their hands, and vest it in the crown. By address, by promises, and menaces, he prevailed on the Knights of each Order to place himself and Isabella at its head. The election was sanctioned by Papal authority, and the annexation of these Masterships to the crown was rendered perpetual.

The peculiar circumstances of Spain afforded Ferdinand a further opportunity of diminishing the power of the nobles, while it increased the influence of the cities. The sovereign jurisdiction, which the barons exercised within their own territories, greatly curtailed the power of the crown. To have openly invaded a privilege which they regarded as the highest distinction of their order, would have been a hazardous attempt; and he therefore resolved to undermine what he durst not attack. The continual war

between the Christians and the Mahommedans, and their mutual depredations, together with the private contests of the barons, so common in all countries under the feudal system, had dissolved the bonds of social order ; and all the provinces of Spain were overspread with banditti. Rapine and murder became so common that all intercourse between the different cities was interrupted. The numerous bands of robbers set all laws at defiance ; and no relief was to be expected from the ordinary course of justice.\* The evil became at length so intolerable that the cities adopted an extraordinary remedy. About the middle of the thirteenth century, the cities of Arragon, and after their example those of Castile, formed themselves into an association, distinguished by the name of the St. Hermidad or the Holy Brotherhood. A certain contribution being furnished by each of the associated towns, they levied a strong body of troops for the protection of travellers and the seizure of criminals. Every violater of the public peace that was taken by the troops of the Hermidad, being carried before judges nominated by the associated cities,

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\* Robbery and murder were extremely common throughout Europe during the middle ages. Bouquet Recueil des Hist. tom. 7. p. 515 ; and tom. 10. p. 360, &c. But the description which the Spanish historians give of their prevalence in Spain is amazing. Vide Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 1. p. 429, and the authorities to which he refers.

was tried and condemned without any regard to the feudal jurisdictions. The nobles violently opposed this institution; but Ferdinand perceiving not only its good effects on the police of the kingdom, but also its tendency to abridge, and at length to annihilate the independent jurisdiction of the barons, supported the Hermandad with all his authority and influence.

Thus, by a train of well planned measures, Ferdinand considerably extended the prerogative of the crown, and acquired a degree of influence and power beyond what any of his predecessors had enjoyed; yet the limitations of the royal authority, and the barriers against its encroachments, continued to be numerous and strong. The spirit of liberty was vigorous among the people of Spain; and the spirit of independence was high among the nobility. The love of glory prompted the Spaniards to support Ferdinand with zeal in his foreign enterprises; but in the internal government of the kingdom they never allowed him more than a very limited authority.\*

The sagacity of Ferdinand had greatly advanced the glory and power of Spain, and his

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\* From many subsequent transactions recorded in this history, the reader will perceive that, during a considerable part of the reign of Charles V. the prerogative of the Spanish crown was circumscribed within narrow limits; and the progress of despotism, in Spain, will be clearly developed.

arms had asserted the independence of Italy. Pope Alexander, as a mark of his regard for a Prince, who had annihilated the Mahommedan power in Spain, and delivered the Roman See from the control of France, conferred on the Spanish monarch the title of Catholic. The measures of Ferdinand were, perhaps, little influenced by religion ; but he readily accepted the sacred mark of pontifical approbation, and transmitted it to his successors.

The domestic felicity of the sovereigns of Spain was far from keeping pace with the public prosperity ; and the successive funerals of their children involved their court in continual mourning. The death of their only son, the Prince of Asturias, was almost immediately followed by that of his sister, the Queen of Portugal, who expired in childbirth at Toledo. This Princess left an infant son, whose decease, within a few months, swelled the list of domestic calamities. Joanna, who had lately espoused the Archduke Philip, son of Maximilian, Emperor of Germany, remained the only surviving offspring of Ferdinand and Isabella ; and on her devolved the succession to the crowns of Arragon and Castile.

But the ravages made by death, in the family of Ferdinand, did not extinguish the ambition which constantly reigned in his bosom. Soon

after the conclusion of the truce with France; he seized on the town of Melilla, on the African coast, and secured it by new fortifications against

any attempts of the Moors. In the mean  
1498.

while Charles VIII. expired at Amboise, at the moment when he was meditating a second irruption into Italy. Louis XII. with his crown, inherited, in part, his designs, and seized the Duchy of Milan. Ferdinand and the new King of France soon after entered into an iniquitous confederacy to divide between them the kingdom of Naples. Gonsalvo, the Great Captain, quickly reduced the Provinces of Apulia and Calabria, which had been allotted to Spain; but he tarnished, by an act of the basest perfidy, his military fame. The eldest son of the Neapolitan monarch had fixed his last retreat at Tarento; and that place, after long resisting the victorious arms of the Spaniards, surrendered on the express condition that the Prince should be left at liberty. But Gonsalvo did not hesitate to violate the treaty, although confirmed by an oath: The young Prince was seized and conveyed to Spain, where, although he was treated with lenity and respect, he was detained all his life in captivity. The King, his father, who had taken refuge in the Island of Ischia, on receiving intelligence of

those events, threw himself on the  
A. D. 1501. well known generosity of Louis XII.

to whom he resigned his right to that portion of his dominions which had been assigned to France by the partition treaty of the preceding year, and received from that monarch in return the county of Maine for himself and his heirs.\*

While Ferdinand was unjustly taking possession of distant territories, his own dominions called for his most vigilant attention. Many of the conditions, on which the Moors had submitted to the yoke of Spain, had been violated; and the oppressions which that people suffered under their conquerors, together with religious animosity, stimulated them to erect the standard of revolt in the mountains of Alpuxarros. But while they were flattering themselves with the hope of assistance from their African brethren, Ferdinand, after a difficult march, through a country that was deemed impracticable to an army, unexpectedly made his appearance. The weakness of the insurgents, or the caution or avarice of the monarch, prevented the effusion of blood. A treaty was concluded, by which all the Moors who were averse to the Christian government, were permitted to retire into Africa, on the payment of ten pistoles for each family. The emigration of six thousand families contributed to the depopulation and impoverish-

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\* M. L. Pies Henault *Abregé Chron. de l'Hist. de France*, 1501.

ment of Spain ; but it produced a seasonable supply to the coffers of Ferdinand ; for however inconsiderable the sum of sixty thousand pistoles may appear in modern times, in the commencement of the sixteenth century, when the mines of America were not yet discovered, it was an object of importance to any sovereign in Europe.

The money thus obtained from the Moors was employed by Ferdinand in accomplishing another of his perfidious designs. He had abandoned the King of Naples for the sake of acquiring Apulia and Calabria ; and he scrupled not to violate his engagements with the French monarch, in order to wrest from him his share of the spoil. But on the commencement of hostilities the Spanish troops, being ill supplied with ammunition, and mutinous for want of pay, were neither able nor willing to make any vigorous effort ; and the Great Captain was obliged to retire before the Duke de Nemours. But Louis, at the moment when he might have expelled the Spaniards, and acquired the possession of the whole kingdom of Naples, suffered himself to be disarmed by a negotiation with the Archduke Philip, son-in-law to Ferdinand. The Archduke engaged that his son Charles, afterwards Charles V. should espouse Claude, the eldest daughter of the French monarch, and one of the stipulations

was that Louis and Ferdinand should resign to them the kingdom of Naples.\* In consequence of this agreement the French monarch sent orders to his general to suspend hostilities. But Ferdinand refused to ratify the treaty, and ordered Gonsalvo to continue the war. Philip remonstrated with his father-in-law, representing to him that his conduct would fix an indelible stain on his character; but Ferdinand was regardless of reputation, and attentive only to aggrandisement. He sent strong reinforcements to his general; and the money extorted from the Moors, having satisfied the arrears, restored the obedience of the army. Gonsalvo overspread the country with his detachments. In the plains of Cerignoles, the Duke of Nemours attempted to arrest his career, but was unable to contend with the superior numbers and skill of the Great Captain. An obstinate action took place; and the Duke, with the greatest part of his army, perished on the field of battle. The capital opened its gates to the victor, and the other cities followed the example. Gaieta held out for a considerable time; but at last its evacuation by the French garrison left the Spaniards in possession of the whole kingdom of Naples.

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\* Hen. Ab. Chron. ad An. 1503.

Louis, however, made formidable preparations for continuing the war and retrieving his losses. Three armies were assembled for the invasion of the Spanish dominions: the first, commanded by General Le Tremouille, and consisting of twenty thousand men, was destined for the recovery of Naples: the second, of six thousand, under the Seigneur D'Albret, was sent against Fontarabia; and the third, and most numerous, under the Marechal de Rieux, was to penetrate into Roussillon. A considerable fleet was also fitted out to prevent any communication between Naples and Spain. Ferdinand had not been inattentive to these preparations: he had foreseen the storm and provided against its effects. The forces of France being defeated by the Great Captain, Gonsalvo, were a second time expelled from Naples. The troops destined for the attack of Fontarabia having failed in their attempt, joined the army in Roussillon. The whole of the French forces in that quarter advanced to Salses and formed the siege; but retired at the approach of Ferdinand, who had marched from Madrid with a formidable army. The French fleet also returned to Marseilles, without having rendered any considerable service. And Louis had the mortification of seeing his armaments baffled in every enterprise.

But amidst so many and so brilliant successes, the exultation of Ferdinand was checked by a domestic calamity which obscured the brightness of his political horizon. His Queen, Isabella, who held, in her own right, the sceptre of Castile, had been for some time in a declining state: her health had been greatly impaired by her grief for the premature death of her children, the Prince of Asturias and the Queen of Portugal. The melancholy state of her only surviving daughter, Joanna, was a still greater source of affliction. The unkindness of her consort, the Archduke, had impaired the intellects of that unfortunate Princess; and in the untimely fate or protracted misery of her offspring, Isabella might justly complain that her prosperity as a Queen had been more than counterbalanced by her sorrows as a mother. These sorrows, in conjunction with advanced years, and a disorder of the lungs, had exhausted her constitution. In the 68th year of her age she expired A. D. 1504. at Madrid, amidst the lamentations of her subjects, who had long experienced her justice and humanity. Her mildness, generosity, and clemency, had served to temper the inflexible rigour of the unfeeling Ferdinand. She was a liberal patroness of genius and talents; and the munificent spirit with which she promoted

the discovery of a new world has illustrated his name in the pages of history.

The celebrated discoverer of America was one of those who had the greatest reason to lament the loss of her patronage, Columbus was, at that time, employed in his third and last expedition, in which he discovered the continent of America. After a succession of adventures, difficulties, and disasters, which it would require a volume to relate, he arrived in Spain, where he soon received the fatal intelligence of the death of Isabella, on whose favour were founded all his expectations. This was the greatest of all his afflictions. His enemies at court redoubled their persecutions. No one remained to redress his wrongs, or reward his services; and he had little to hope from Ferdinand, by whom he had long been opposed and frequently injured. But he was soon relieved from a life of hardships and disappointments, which had been spent in braving the tempests of the ocean and encountering the malice and ingratitude of man. Grief, anxiety, and the fatigues which he had undergone, concurred to exhaust his waning strength. Columbus, one of the greatest of men in comparison with whom the names of blood-stained conquerors sink into insignificance, expired at Valladolid in

A. D. 1506.

the fifty-ninth year of his age.\* In his last moments he displayed that magnanimity and composure of mind which had ever distinguished his character, and those sentiments of piety which in every occurrence of his life had manifested his supreme respect for religion.

Isabella, sensible of the incapacity of her daughter Joanna, had, by her testament, appointed Ferdinand Regent of Castile, till Charles, the son of Philip and Joanna, should have attained the age of twenty. In consequence of this arrangement, Joanna and Philip were proclaimed Sovereigns of Castile; but Ferdinand assumed the reins of government, and his title to the regency was formally acknowledged by the Cortes. The Castillian pride, however, could not submit, without a murmur, to the government of a King of Arragon; and the jealous, severe, and parsimonious disposition of Ferdinand was ill adapted to the genius of that high-spirited people. A powerful faction was formed; and the malecontents invited the Archduke to take the administration. That Prince, who

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\* His son Diego Columbus, having long solicited, in vain, the establishment of his right to the Viceroyalty of America, instituted a process against Ferdinand, which being tried before the Council of the Indies, the judges, greatly to their honour, gave a verdict in his favour, and Diego was accordingly vested with that dignity. This exhibits a remarkable proof that Ferdinand possessed no power to infringe on the rights of his subjects. *Robertson's Hist. Amer.* vol. i. p. 227.

did not consider the testamentary disposition of Isabella as either just or genuine, seized this favourable opportunity of resisting the pretensions of his father-in-law. Ferdinand was formally required to retire into Arragon, and to deliver the government of Castile to such persons as Philip should appoint.

From this period a series of dark intrigue was carried on by Ferdinand and Philip; and for some time their jarring pretensions threatened Spain with a civil war. Ferdinand even resolved to deprive his daughter and her posterity of the crown: he demanded, in marriage, Joanna the supposed daughter of Henry IV. on the ground of whose illegitimacy Isabella's right to the succession had been founded, and against whose claim he himself had fought a bloody battle with the King of Portugal; but being disappointed in his application, he espoused Germaine de la Foix, niece to Louis XII. who resigned, in her favour, all his claims to the dominions of Naples.\*

Philip, who had yet remained in the Netherlands, where he resided at the time of the death of Isabella, now began to prepare for his voyage to Spain. But in order to divert Ferdinand from opposing his purpose, he instructed his

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\* Hen. Ab. Chron. An. 1566.

ambassadors to conclude a treaty with that Prince, in which it was stipulated that the government of Castile should be administered in the joint names of Joanna, Ferdinand, and Philip, and that the two last should enjoy the revenues of the crown by an equal division. But it was far from the intentions of Philip to observe the treaty which he had subscribed. Accompanied by Joanna, he sailed, in the depth of winter, from Middleburg, with a numerous fleet and a considerable body of troops. Ferdinand, in the mean while, having formed the design of opposing his landing, was assiduous in his endeavours to conciliate the affections of the Castilians. But all his attempts were in vain; and he was obliged to renounce his design of an armed resistance. No sooner had Philip disembarked at Corunna than the nobles, with their numerous vassals, crowded to his standard.\* Ferdinand, seeing the general disaffection, consented, by treaty, to resign the regency of Castile and retire into his kingdom of Arragon: on these conditions it was stipulated that he should enjoy the Grand Masterships of the three military orders,† and half of the revenues arising from the Indies, which had been assigned to him by the testament of Isabella.

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\* Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 2. book 1. p. 17.

† St. Jago, Calatrava, and Alcantara.

In political intrigue and duplicity Philip had shewed himself scarcely inferior to Ferdinand, who had been so long versed in the arts of dissimulation. In asserting his claims he had displayed considerable abilities; but his administration was far from answering the expectations of his subjects. He suffered himself to be governed by his Flemish favourites; and the pride of the Castilian nobles was wounded by the preference given to a succession of strangers, with whom Philip lived in the utmost familiarity, while he maintained a haughty reserve towards the grandees of Spain. The indifference which he shewed for the unhappy Joanna contributed to excite their disgust, and a general dissatisfaction was the result of his preposterous conduct. But the Castilians were soon delivered from a Prince whose character was so little adapted to conciliate their affections. While in a state of excessive perspiration, he imprudently drank a large quantity of Sherbet, cooled with ice. A fever almost instantly ensued; and after an illness of six days he expired in the twenty-eighth year of his age.

A. D. 1507.

On his demise the regal authority devolved on Joanna; but the shock occasioned by the unexpected death of her husband had completed the derangement of her understanding. Though in the sixth month of her pregnancy, no remon-

Isabella could prevail on her to leave him for a moment during his sickness; and, after he expired, she continued to watch the dead body with the same tenderness as if he had been alive and sensible of her affection. Even after it was interred she removed it from the tomb to her own apartment, and kept her eyes steadily fixed upon it, as impatient of the moment when it should again begin to breathe. In vain did her ministers endeavour to recal her from her frantic grief to the administration of her kingdom: her total incapacity for government was visible. In this emergency the majority of the Castilians judged it expedient to recal Ferdinand to the regency; but those nobles who had been the most violent in formerly opposing his claims, and who dreaded his resentment, exhorted Maximilian, the father of Philip, to assert his pretensions as the natural guardian of his grandson. The efforts of Maximilian, however, were feeble; and he abandoned the cause on the first appearance of difficulty. Ferdinand, at this critical juncture, was absent from Spain. Having conceived some suspicion of the fidelity of the Great Captain, he suddenly departed for Naples, and was in the territory of Genoa when he received intelligence of the death of his son-in-law. His conduct, on this occasion, was somewhat extraordinary. So great was his impatience to

investigate the conduct of Gonfhalvo, that his claim to the regency of Castile could not induce him to discontinue his journey. Perhaps he might rely on the zeal and abilities of his minister, and in this confidence he was not deceived.

Of those who adhered to his interests Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, was the chief; and his talents and exertions procured for Ferdinand the regency of Castile. Ximenes was one of those extraordinary characters which seldom appear in the world. Descended from an honourable but not opulent family, the circumstances of his parents, as well as his own inclinations, determined him to enter the church. He began his ecclesiastical career with success, and easily obtained several valuable benefices, which opened the way to the highest preferments. But he resigned all these, and assumed the habit of St. Francis, in a monastery of Observantine Friars, one of the most rigid orders in the church. In that situation he soon became eminent for the austerity of his manners, and for those excesses of devotion which are the proper characteristics of the monastic life. His reputation for sanctity procured him the office of confessor to Queen Isabella, which he undertook with the greatest reluctance; but in a court he still preserved his former austerity of manners: he continued to

make all his journeys on foot, and persevered in the severity of his arts of mortification. He was soon after promoted to the Archbishopric of Toledo, which, next to the papacy, was the richest dignity in the church. This high honour he affected to decline with a firmness which the authoritative injunction of the Roman Pontiff alone could overcome ; and if so sudden and so great an elevation did not seem so glittering a bait to ambition, his former indifference to preferment might give an appearance of sincerity to his refusal. But the motives which actuated a mind like that of Ximenes are not to be easily penetrated. While he appeared to estrange himself from the world, he attentively studied its movements and views, and made himself master of the passions of mankind while he avoided their manners. No sooner was he called by Ferdinand and Isabella to take a principal share in the administration, than he displayed talents for business that astonished the court and the kingdom, as well as a patriotism that was proof against every temptation. To this great statesman Ferdinand had committed the care of his interests during his absence, and they could not have been intrusted to more able hands. While the King of Arragon, by the strictest inquiries, satisfied himself of the loyalty of Gonfhalvo and the obedience of Naples, Ximenes, by his argu-

ments and addressees, so managed the disaffected nobles of Castile, that he gained many of his most violent opponents. Ferdinand, therefore, on his return, had little left to do but to assume the regency, which, on this occasion, was extended to the period when his grandson Charles should attain the mature age of twenty-five; and after chastising the turbulence of the city of Cordova the tranquillity of his government was established.

A. D. 1508. The famous league of Cambray, formed against the Venetians, opened a new field to the intrigues and the arms of Ferdinand. Venice, enriched by trade and manufactures, had adopted a warlike as well as a commercial system. By continual encroachments the Venetians had extended their dominions; and their power was an object of terror to their neighbours. Pope Julius II. whose character would have better suited a camp than the chair of St. Peter, was the first promoter of this famous confederacy between the Holy See, the Kings of France and Spain, and the Emperor Maximilian, against the republic. The view of Julius II. was to humble his too powerful neighbours, and to regain possession of Faenza, Rimini, and other places which the Venetians had wrested from the ecclesiastical state; Ferdinand expected to re annex to his kingdom of Naples

some towns which the republic possessed on the coast of Calabria. Maximilian concurred in the enterprise for the sake of a subsidy : but Louis XII. was only impelled by the desire of humbling the arrogance of the republic ; and for that impolitic purpose he joined in attacking the only Italian ally in whom he could place any confidence.

While Ferdinand was waiting for the moment when the confederates should take the field, the bold and vigorous mind of Ximenes, who had been recently promoted to the dignity of Cardinal, did not suffer the martial genius of the Castilians to be damped by inactivity. He employed the ample revenues of his Archbishopric in promoting the glory and extending the dominions of Spain. In person, and at his own expense, he undertook the conquest of the important fortrefs of Oran, on the coast of Africa. His forces consisted of ten thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry, convoyed by a strong squadron of armed galleys ; and his presence gave energy to their operations. The undisciplined bands of Africa appeared in the field, but were unable to resist the steady valour of the Spaniards : they fled in confusion. Oran opened its gates ; and the Christian banners were displayed on its walls. After this brilliant expedition, of which he had formed the plan

and directed the execution, Ximenes returned into Spain, and in studious retirement secluded himself from public applause.

The expedition against Oran caused no delay in the operations of the confederates of Cambray. The banners of Spain, in conjunction with those of Rome, of France, and of Germany, were displayed on the frontiers of the Venetian territory. In the commencement of the war the allies acted with considerable vigour. At the battle of Aignadel, in which the King of France  
A. D. 1509. commanded in person, the Venetians were defeated with great loss; and Alviano, their general, was slain. But the victory gained by the French arms redounded chiefly to the advantage of Rome and Spain. The Pope forced the Venetians to evacuate all the towns which they held in the ecclesiastical states, and Ferdinand expelled them from those which they possessed on the coast of Calabria, while the Emperor Maximilian, at the head of a powerful army, advanced toward Venice, and the haughty republicans were obliged to prepare for the defence of their capital.

But at the moment when Venice was on the brink of ruin she was saved by the disunion of her enemies. The league of Cambray was a temporary alliance of powers that were jealous of each other, and all of whom had different

interests and views. They had united to humble the republic; but their success soon revived their ancient enmity. Both Julius and Ferdinand had attained their objects, and they began to fear lest Louis should become the arbiter of Italy. The Venetians profited by this disunion; and by well-timed concessions to the Pope, the King of Spain and the Emperor dissolved a confederacy which had threatened the extinction of their republic. But although they recovered several of their cities, they could never retrieve their former influence and extent of territory. The discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope to India, a few years before, was a blow not less fatal to their commerce than the league of Cambray was to their political greatness; and from this epoch may be dated the decline of Venice.

Louis XII. was not long before he was awakened to a mortifying sense of the impolicy of the measures into which he had been led by the Roman Pontiff. Julius II. elated by the success of his political plans, resolved to attempt the expulsion of the French from Italy. In this view he formed a new league with Ferdinand, with Henry VIII. King of England,  
A. D. 1510. the son-in-law of Ferdinand, and with the Swiss and the Venetians.

Before the confederacy was completely formed, the Pope had hastily begun the war by the siege of Mirandola, where he appeared in person in the trenches, and on the surrender of the city, caused himself to be carried in military triumph through the breach which his batteries had made in the wall. But Julius was unable, with his own forces, to withstand, for any length of time, the efforts of France; and he was closely besieged within the walls of Ravenna, when the forces of the confederates having entered Italy, ravaged the Duchy of Milan, and advanced to Bologna, delivered him from his perilous situation. The declining fortunes of the French were, for some time, supported by a youthful hero, Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, nephew of Louis XII. and brother of Germaine, Queen of Castile and Arragon. At an early age the martial talents of this Prince shone forth with distinguished lustre; and his life was a short but rapid career of victory. He had scarcely attained the twenty-third year of his age, when he undertook the honourable but arduous task of restoring the fortunes and the fame of his country. He relieved Bologna, captured Brescia, and totally defeated the Venetian general Baglioni. But near the walls of Ravenna he met with a glorious though untimely fate. Having laid siege to that

city, the confederates, under the command of Raymond de Cordona, Viceroy of Naples, advanced to its relief.\* On Easter A. D. 1512. Sunday, 11th April, a decisive action took place. The confederates were broken, and several of their battalions were cut in pieces; but amidst the general rout of the allies, the Spanish troops maintained their reputation for steady valour, and retired in firm and compact order, continuing, in their retreat, to repulse the attacks of their pursuers. The Duke of Nemours, who had displayed the qualities of a consummate general and an intrepid soldier, being impatient of rendering his victory complete, made a desperate charge on the Spaniards, and fighting with the most heroic valour, fell covered with wounds. The fortunes of the French seem to have expired with their general; and his death was immediately followed by the loss of the Milanese.† This was the last great effort made by the Spaniards in the support of the confederacy.

The politic Ferdinand had a more advantageous object in view. The connexion of John

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\* The famous Gonsalvo de Cordova, although no proofs of his disloyalty appeared, could never remove the suspicions of Ferdinand, and notwithstanding his transcendent abilities for war, the Great Captain remained unemployed and died in retirement.

† Hen. Ab. Chron. An. 1512.

D'Albret, King of Navarre, with the court of France, served Ferdinand as a pretext for seizing his dominions. A numerous and veteran army, commanded by the Duke of Alva, entered Navarre, and the banners of Spain were displayed before the walls of Pampeluna, the capital. The natural strength of the place, for some time, resisted the efforts of the invaders, but the garrison, being at once assailed by famine and the sword, was obliged to surrender. John D'Albret, who had retired beyond the Pyrenees, in vain implored the succours of France. Louis XII. hard pressed on every side by his enemies, was obliged to resign the unfortunate Prince to his fate. And by the conquest of Navarre, the kingdom of Spain acquired the extent which it has possessed in modern times.\*

A.D. 1515. The death of Louis XII. transmitted the crown of France to Francis I. celebrated in history as the patron of letters. This monarch was inflamed with the same ardour for transalpine conquests as his two predecessors, Charles and Louis. At the head of a numerous army he burst into Italy, and after a bloody defeat of the Swiss at Marignano, made himself master of the Milanese. The health of Ferdinand was rapidly declining, and his shattered

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\* Mar. lib. 30. cap. 12, &c.

frame announced his approaching dissolution ; but the progress of the French monarch roused him from the couch of sickness ; and all Spain refounded with his formidable preparations. But while his measures attracted the attention of Europe, and the magnitude of his armaments spread alarm on the opposite coasts of Africa, Ferdinand was rapidly drawing near the final period of his life. Having committed the administration of Spain, until the arrival of Charles, to the vigorous hand of Cardinal Ximenes, he expired in a small inn, in an obscure village, on

A. D. 1516. his way to Andalusia, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. The character of Ferdinand bears a strong resemblance to that of his contemporary, Henry VII. King of England, with whom he cultivated the strictest friendship. He possessed not the ardent and chivalrous courage which was requisite to command the admiration of the high-spirited Spaniards ; yet in every emergency he displayed a mind not only calm but undaunted. The greatest part of his reign was a series of wars in which he was generally successful. In his internal government he was stern, decisive, and inflexible : he checked the exorbitant power of the nobles, and exalted the royal authority : he diminished the strength of the feudal system, gave vigour to

the executive power and efficacy to the laws. But the benefits which the kingdom derived from his administration were balanced by an evil of incalculable magnitude. The inquisition, which has so long shackled the minds of the people, and overclouded their happiness with its baneful shade, owed to him its first establishment in Spain. Unfeeling, jealous, and unrelenting, he viewed the merits of his subjects with a suspicious eye, and rewarded with a cold and reluctant hand, although he punished with rigid and exemplary justice. Avarice has been considered as a principal trait in his character; but, perhaps, the impartial observer will regard the avarice of Ferdinand as a judicious parsimony. Both in his private life and his public administration he adhered to the principles of the strictest economy, and the taxes levied on his subjects were scrupulously devoted to the enlargement of his dominions. Steeled against every remorse of conscience, he paid little regard to the means by which he obtained his ends; and his ungrateful treatment of Columbus, and of the Great Captain Gonsalvo, tarnished the glory of his reign. But history, in condemning his vices, must candidly acknowledge his abilities: he was the greatest and most successful politician of his time. By uniting the crowns of Castile, Arragon,

Grenada, and Navarre, he was the first of the successors of Pelagius, who could aspire to the title of sovereign of Spain; and under his auspices that kingdom assumed a commanding station in the political system of Europe.

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## CHAP. XII.

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Accession of Charles V.—Vigorous administration of Cardinal Ximenes.—His death.—His character.—Perturbated state of Spain.—Election of Charles to the imperial throne of Germany.—General discontent of the Spaniards.—Charles departs for Germany.—Revolt of a great part of Spain.—Establishment of the Holy Junta.—War of the Commons against the aristocracy and the crown.—Execution of Don Juan de Padilla.—Magnanimity of his widow Donna Maria.—Her vigorous defence of Toledo.—Suppression of the revolt of the Commons.—Fatal blow to the liberties of Spain.

ON the demise of Ferdinand, his grandson, Charles V. succeeded to the crowns of Spain, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia. He had not yet completed his sixteenth year; but William de Croy, Lord of Chievres, who, with Adrian of Utrecht, superintended his education, had successfully encouraged him to excel in martial exercises, and instructed him in the science of government. From his fifteenth year, when he assumed the administration of Flanders, he had been accustomed to attend to business, to peruse all the papers relative to state affairs, and to be present at the deliberations of his privy coun-

fellors.\* From such an education Charles had acquired a gravity and a steadiness of thought that could scarcely have been expected at so early an age, while his subjects were dazzled by his graceful figure and exterior accomplishments.

The gratitude of Charles, to his tutor, induced him to appoint Adrian, of Utrecht, to the regency of Spain. But the profound theologian soon perceived himself unequal to the task of governing a great and turbulent nation; and conscious of the superior abilities of Ximenes, he suffered the whole power to remain in his hands, contenting himself with a nominal dignity. The critical juncture of affairs, indeed, required the direction of a more experienced statesman than Adrian. Charles had resolved to assume the title of King; but by the laws of Spain, the crowns of Castile and Arragon belonged to his mother Joanna; and though her infirmities disqualified her from governing, her incapacity had not been acknowledged by any public act of the Cortes; so that the pretensions of Charles were considered as a direct violation of their privileges. Ximenes, however, carried the measure into effect with vigour and promptitude. The title of Charles was recognised in Castile; but the authority of Ximenes

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\* Mem. de Bellai, p. II.

did not extend to Arragon, and Charles was not acknowledged as King by the Arragonians until his arrival.

The state of Spain, at this juncture, was such as required a vigorous hand. The feudal institutions, though shaken by Ferdinand, still subsisted: the nobles were still powerful and turbulent: the cities were numerous and considerable, and their privileges and political influence extensive: factions were bold and daring, and discontents were ready to burst forth into open insurrection. Happily, however, for Spain, the genius of Ximenes was equal to every difficulty; nor could the advanced season of his life check his bold and commanding spirit. To extinguish the formidable pretensions of the nobles, and establish, on a firm foundation, the royal authority, was his principal object. But this could not be effected without an armed force at the disposal of the crown. By the feudal constitution the military power was lodged in the hands of the barons, whom their vassals attended to the field, and on these the King was obliged to rely in warlike operations. From this state of dependence, Ximenes undertook to deliver the crown. He issued an order to the cities to enrol and train to arms a certain number of their burgeses to serve as a national militia. The nobility, who saw the tendency of the

measure, excited the cities to disobedience ; but the decisive tone of the Cardinal Archbishop enforced submission ; and he soon prepared to make use of the strength which he thus acquired. He caused a strict inquiry to be made into the property of the barons : a considerable part of this consisted of grants obtained, or lands wrested from the crown in the moments of its weakness. To have traced all these encroachments to their origin would have involved incalculable difficulties, and have thrown the whole kingdom into confusion. But Ximenes prudently confined his inquiry to the last reign. The parsimonious disposition of Ferdinand was but little inclined to acts of generosity ; yet as he had been raised to the throne by a faction ; and his adherents had stipulated their recompense, the grants made under his reign had been far from inconsiderable. These were all resumed by Ximenes on the principle of their reversion to the crown on the death of Ferdinand, and served the minister as a fund, which enabled him to pay his militia, and replenish the magazines with warlike stores.

The nobles being alarmed by the successive attacks of Ximenes, which threatened the total abolition of their power and privileges, began to think of an appeal from his decisions to the sword ; but the Cardinal Archbishop soon con-

vinced them that it was too late. The Admiral of Castile, the Duke del Infantado, and the Count de Benevento, being deputed to examine the powers by which he acted, he produced the testament of Ferdinand, with the ratification by Charles. But as they still seemed to be dissatisfied, Ximenes led them to a balcony from which they had a view of a large body of troops in martial array, with a formidable train of artillery. Pointing to these, "Behold," said he, "my powers. With these I govern Castile; and with these I will govern it, until the King, your master and mine shall take possession."\* An answer so bold and decisive disconcerted the nobles: they were convinced of the danger of arming against a man so well prepared for the contest, and abandoned all thoughts of a confederacy. But Ximenes found more difficulty in opposing the corrupt and venal system of the Flemish courtiers of Charles. By their management, all the most important appointments in Spain were exposed to sale, and without any regard to merit were conferred on the highest bidders. Ximenes inveighed against the disgraceful traffic, and represented the necessity of the royal presence in Spain.

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\* Flech. Vie de Xim. 2d. 551. Herrer. tom. 8. p. 433.

Ferdinand having been a member of the holy league, Charles found himself, at his accession, involved in a war with France. A treaty, however, was concluded, and peace was restored between the two kingdoms. No sooner had this event taken place than Charles began to think of his departure for Spain. But the ascendancy of his Flemish courtiers, who dreaded an interview between him and Ximenes, detained him another whole year in the Netherlands. At length, however, the repeated intreaties of the Cardinal, and the murmurs of the Spaniards, induced him to embark. He was accompanied by Chievres, Lord of Croy, and a splendid train of nobles; and after a dangerous voyage landed in Spain amidst the acclamations of his subjects. Ximenes set out to meet him as soon as he heard of his arrival; but his journey was arrested by a severe indisposition. Finding himself unable to proceed, he dispatched a letter to his sovereign: he advised him to dismiss the Flemings in his train, whose numbers and influence gave offence to the Spaniards; and he earnestly solicited an interview, that he might inform him of the state of the nation and the temper of the people. To prevent this, both the Flemish and Spanish nobles employed all their address; and the Cardinal had the mortification to find all his counsels neglected. He received a letter from

the King, who, after some formal expressions of regard, granted him permission to retire to his diocese, that after a life of such long continued labour he might end his days in tranquillity. Whether his haughty mind could not brook disappointment, or his patriotic spirit could not bear the contemplation of the misfortunes that menaced his country, or, what is most probable, his thread of life was worn out by increasing infirmities, he expired a few hours after receiving this dismissal. Among those writers who are unwilling that their heroes should make their exit like ordinary men, some have ascribed his death to poison, some to chagrin, and others to a combination of both ; but if we consider his extreme old age, it is needless to search very far for the cause of his dissolution.

The character of Ximenes displays a singular mixture of qualities. To the prudence of the statesman, he united the magnanimous intrepidity of the hero, and the fanaticism of the Monk, as well as an incorruptible integrity, a quality so rarely found among politicians. Though invested with the high dignities of Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo, and also that of Regent of Castile, he continued to practice all the austerities of a monastic life ; and although obliged to display, in public, the magnificence suited to his station, he constantly wore, under

his pontifical robes, the coarse frock of St. Francis. He never made use of linen, but wore haircloth next his skin: he always slept in his habit, most frequently on the ground or on boards; and he did not taste any of the delicacies that were served up at his table, but invariably confined himself to the simple diet prescribed by the rules of his order. But with this superstitious adherence to Monkish institutions, he possessed a genius profound and extensive, and fertile in vast and magnificent schemes. His political conduct was remarkable for its boldness and originality, and he pursued all his measures with undaunted firmness and unremitting assiduity. All his plans were distinguished by their grandeur and success. His disinterested patriotism was not less conspicuous than his other exalted qualities: he lived not for himself but for the public; and his immense revenues were consecrated to the service of his country. His reputation is still high in Spain, and his name deserves a distinguished place in the list of statesmen: as he is the only prime minister mentioned in history whom the people revered as a Saint.\*

Charles was soon awakened to a sense of the loss which he had sustained by the death of so

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\* Robertson. Hist. cap. 5. vol. 2. p. 36, 37, 61.

able a minister. The Cortes of Castile, assembled at Valladolid, consented to acknowledge him as sovereign only in conjunction with his mother, and under the express condition that if, at any future period, she should recover her reason, the whole royal authority should return into her hands. At Saragossa he found the Cortes of Arragon still less compliant; and it was with difficulty that they were prevailed on to recognise his title of King in conjunction with his mother. The Cortes of Castile had voted a free gift of six hundred thousand ducats to be paid in three years, a greater sum than they had granted to any of their former Kings; but those of Arragon limited their liberality to two hundred thousand. The symptoms of discontent, indeed, were every where visible. Charles spoke the Spanish language imperfectly: his discourse was consequently slow, and delivered with hesitation; and from that circumstance many of the Spaniards were induced to regard him as a Prince of a slow and narrow genius. But the greatest dissatisfaction arose from his attachment to his Flemish favourites, who engrossed or exposed to sale every office of honour or emolument, and whose rapacity was so unbounded that they are said to have remitted to the Netherlands no less a sum than eleven hundred thousand ducats in the space of ten

months. Chievres, in particular, had gained over the youthful monarch the ascendancy of a parent rather than of a tutor; and the nomination of his nephew, William de Croy, a young man not of canonical age, to the Archbishopric of Toledo, was considered as both an injury and an insult to the Spanish nation. These proceedings excited a general murmur. Seville, Toledo, Segovia, and others of the principal cities, entered into a confederacy for the defence of their privileges: they remonstrated, with boldness, against the preferment of strangers, the sale of offices, the exportation of the coin, and the increase of taxes, and by these determined measures laid the foundation of that famous union among the Commons of Castile, which afterwards so dreadfully convulsed the kingdom.\*

While Spain, agitated by a general discontent, was ready for rebellion, a spacious field was opened to the ambition of her monarch. The death of the Emperor Maximilian had left vacant the imperial throne of Germany. The Kings of Spain, of France, and of England, offered themselves as candidates for this high dignity; but Henry VIII. after a train of long and expensive but useless negotiations with the German

Princes, withdrew from the hopeless contest, and left the field open to Charles and Francis. The pretensions of both these illustrious candidates were supported by powerful arguments, founded on the existing circumstances of the empire and of Europe. The increasing magnitude of the Turkish power was, at that period, the grand object of apprehension to Germany. The conquests of Selim II. had spread a general alarm throughout Europe : he had recently added Syria and Egypt to his dominions, and was ready to turn his arms against christendom. To resist this torrent it was requisite that the imperial sceptre of Germany should be wielded by some hand that should be able to protect the empire against the dangers by which it was menaced. Charles possessed the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria, which, from their situation on the banks of the Danube, presented a natural barrier against the Ottoman arms ; and his agents enforced the necessity of electing an Emperor, who, to extensive territories in that quarter, where the impression would first be felt, joined the resources of a powerful monarchy and an ample revenue.\* Francis also reigned over a powerful and warlike nation, and was already renowned for his personal

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\* Robertson's Hist. Charles V. 2d. p. 72, &c.

valour and martial abilities. His emissaries represented that a monarch, who, in his early youth, had triumphed over the valour and discipline of the Swifs, who had hitherto been deemed invincible, would be a formidable antagonist to the Ottoman Emperor. They urged that it was time to convince the House of Austria that the crown was elective and not hereditary ; and all their arguments were seconded by immense gifts and boundless promises to all who had influence in the election. As the convenient method of transmitting money by bills of exchange was then little known, the French ambassadors travelled with a train of horses laden with money to bribe those persons who might be serviceable to the interests of their master.

While the whole machinery of intrigue and corruption was put in motion by the two great candidates, the other European powers had also their interests and views in the business. The Swifs, recollecting their bloody defeat at Marignano, and dreading the increased power of a neighbour so potent and ambitious as Francis, gave an open preference to Charles ; while the Venetians, who had the same reason to apprehend the aggrandizement of the House of Austria, favoured the claims of the French monarch. It would certainly have been to the advantage of

the other powers of Europe, could they have succeeded in the measure, to have excluded both the competitors, as the imperial dignity united to the crown of either France or Spain, would place the new Emperor in too commanding a situation. The penetrating eye of Leo X. who then filled the apostolic chair, perceived that the election of either of the contending monarchs would alike be dangerous to the independence of the Holy See, the tranquillity of Italy, and the liberties of Europe; and he secretly advised the German Princes to place one of their own number on the imperial throne.\*

The Diet being opened at Frankfort, the Electors, notwithstanding the artful reasonings of the ambassadors of Charles and Francis, considered that the first principle of German policy was to limit the power of the Emperor, and that the election of either of the two monarchs would give them a master instead of a chief, and reduce them to the rank of subjects. Impressed by these ideas they unanimously offered the imperial crown to Frederick, Duke of Saxony, whose judicious rejection of the alluring proposal displayed his magnanimity and wisdom. He advised them to commit the sceptre to some more powerful hand than his, or that of any

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\* Guicciard. 13th. p. 160, &c.

other German Prince. "In times of tranquillity," said he, "we desire an Emperor who has not the power of invading our liberties: times of danger demand one who is able to secure our safety. The Turkish armies are ready to pour in upon Germany: to oppose them we must have recourse to one of the rival monarchs; but as the King of Spain is of German extraction, and a member of the empire, as his dominions stretch along the frontier which is most exposed to the enemy, his claim is preferable to that of a stranger to our language, to our blood, and our country."\*

This disinterested and judicious advice commanded the assent of a majority of the Electoral College; and by the almost unanimous consent of the members, Charles was raised to the imperial throne. Thus ended this important contest, in which every engine

A.D. 1519,  
June 29.

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\* Dr. Robertson puts this speech into the mouth of the Elector of Saxony. Hist. Charles V. vol. 2. book 1. p. 81, 82. But Sleidane ascribes it to the Archbishop of Mentz, who gives it in different words, seeming more to apprehend the ambition of the French King than the Turkish invasion. Sleidane's Commentaries, book 1. fol. 11, &c. According to Sleidane the election of Charles was vehemently opposed by the Archbishop of Treves, who combated all the arguments of the Archbishop of Mentz, and declared that it was most proper to elect a German Prince; but that if a foreigner was to be elected Francis ought to be preferred to Charles. The Duke of Saxony gave his decided opinion in favour of Charles. The Electors, however, offered the imperial crown to the Duke, which he absolutely refused. Vide Sleidane's Comm. book 1. fol. 13, &c. where a detailed account of the debates will be found.

of intrigue and corruption had been so actively employed; and Francis I. after exhausting his coffers, had the mortification of seeing his flattering hopes disappointed.

Charles received the news of his election to the imperial throne with the joy that was natural to a young and aspiring mind. But his elevation was far from affording the same satisfaction to his Spanish subjects, who foresaw that their blood and their treasures would be lavished in the support of German politics. A refractory spirit prevailed among all ranks of the nation; and the nobles of Valentia not only refused to admit the Cardinal Adrian as the royal representative, but also declared that the fundamental laws of Spain did not permit them to grant any subsidy to a sovereign who did not reside in the country. Castile was in a similar state of agitation; the principal cities remonstrated against the departure of the King for Germany; and it was not till every artifice had been employed for gaining the nobles that the Cortes consented to grant him a donative. The ecclesiastics were not less refractory than the other orders of the state. The Pope had granted to the King the tenth of all benefices in Castile, under the pretence of enabling him to carry on a war with greater vigour against the Turks; but the clergy, in a general convocation, unanimously refused

to levy that sum, on the ground that it ought never to be exacted except when christendom was actually invaded by the Infidels; and although Leo, in order to enforce their obedience, laid the kingdom under an interdict, so little regard was paid to his censure that the sovereign himself was obliged to apply for its removal.

Notwithstanding the general disaffection of Spain, Charles having at length obtained from the Cortes the sums which were necessary for his appearance in Germany with a splendour suitable to the imperial dignity, resolved no longer to delay his departure. He nominated the Cardinal Adrian, of Utrecht, Regent during his absence; and conferred the viceroyalties of Arragon and Valencia on Don Juan de Lanuza, and Don Diego de Mendoza, Count de Melito. The appointment of the two latter was universally acceptable; but although the Cardinal was the least obnoxious of all the Flemings, the Castilian pride was wounded by the preference of a stranger to their own nobility. But Charles, without paying any regard to their murmurs, embarked at Corunna for the Netherlands, in order to proceed to Germany. Knowing that the late contest for the imperial crown had sown the seeds of hostility between him and the French monarch, he was desirous of forming an alliance

with Henry VIII. and in order to procure an interview with that Prince touched at Dover. From that port a message was sent to Henry, who hastened to receive his illustrious guest with every mark of distinction. Though the moments of Charles, at that juncture, were precious, and his stay in consequence was short, yet he had the address to give the King of England strong impressions in his favour, and to attach to his interests Cardinal Wolsey, his all powerful minister, whose avarice he gratified by a liberal pension, and whose ambition he flattered by promising, on the next vacancy, to promote his succession to the chair of St. Peter. Henry, accompanied by his favourite, Wolsey, soon after passed over into the Netherlands; and at a second interview with Charles, at Gravelines, the treaty was concluded between the two monarchs. After taking these precautionary measures Charles proceeded to Germany, and at Aix-la-Chapelle the crown of Charlemagne was placed on his head with all the pompous solemnity which the Germans deemed essential to the dignity of their empire.

If magnitude of power were to be estimated by extent of dominion, Charles might, after his accession to the imperial throne, be regarded as by far the most potent Prince in Europe. He was Emperor of Germany, King of Spain and of

Naples, and sovereign of Austria and the Netherlands: even the boundaries of the habitable earth seemed to be enlarged that he might reign over a new world; and in the same year which beheld Charles vested with the imperial purple,

1521. the conquest of the rich and extensive empire of Mexico was completed by Ferdinando Cortez.\* Yet the effective strength of the monarch was far from being commensurate with the extent of his dominions: his territories were distant and disjointed, and his authority over his subjects was limited. The different nations which composed his vast empire were strangers to each other: their customs, laws, and languages were different. They were often actuated by mutual hatred, always by jealousy, and seconded with reluctance the designs of their common sovereign. These political discordances, with the differences which arose in religious opinions, and the constant rivalry which subsisted between him and Francis I. rendered the reign of Charles a continued scene of agitation and turbulence.

The troubles which convulsed his dominions and perplexed his reign, first broke out in Spain. Charles had no sooner embarked at Corunna than the embers of public discontent burst out

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\* See the following chapter

into an open flame. As soon as it was understood that although the Cortes had voted him a free gift, they had not obtained the redress of any grievance, the indignation of the people became general and uncontrollable. The citizens of Toledo took arms, attacked the citadel, and compelled the governor to surrender. Having, in the next place, established a democratical form of government, composed of deputies from the several parishes of the city, they levied troops, and appointed for their commander Don Juan de Padilla, son of the Comendator of Castile, a young man of an ambitious and daring spirit, and a great favourite with the populace. Segovia, Burgos, Zamora, and several other cities, followed the example of Toledo; and the Regent was alarmed in Valladolid at the rapid progress of the insurrection. The opinions of the council were divided: one party insisted on the necessity of employing force against the insurgents: the other recommended conciliatory measures. The influence of the Archbishop of Grenada prevailed over the mild disposition of Adrian, who was naturally inclined to lenity. Ronquillo, one of the King's judges, a man of unrelenting severity, was ordered to repair with a considerable body of troops to Segovia. On his approach the citizens flew to arms and shut their gates. Enraged at the insult,

Ronquillo pronounced them rebels, and commenced the blockade of the city, but being attacked by Don Juan de Padilla, who had marched with a detachment from Toledo, he was compelled to retire with the loss of his baggage and military chest.

The Regent, on receiving intelligence of this transaction, ordered Antonio de Fonseca, the commander in chief in Castile, to besiege Segovia in form. In order to execute this commission the general judged it expedient to draw a train of battering artillery from Medino del Campo, where Cardinal Ximenes had established his principal magazine of military stores. But the inhabitants refused to deliver up those arms to be employed in the destruction of their compatriots, which had been prepared against the enemies of Spain. Fonseca, exasperated at their resistance, commenced an assault on the town; and in order to divert the attention of the citizens, commanded his troops to set fire to some of the houses. The flames rapidly spreading, a great part of the town was destroyed, and the warehouses, which were replenished with goods for the approaching fair of Segovia, were involved in the conflagration. On receiving intelligence of this transaction, the citizens of Valladolid, whom the presence of the Regent had hitherto restrained, caught the general con-

tagion ; and having shewn their detestation of Fonssecas' conduct, by burning his house to the ground, they followed the example of the other cities in electing new magistrates and levying foldiers. The Regent, in order to appease the people, disavowed the proceedings of the general ; and the exhausted state of the treasury compelled him to disband the greatest part of his troops.

The state of the kingdom, at this juncture, was favourable to the views of the Commons. The cities of Spain were numerous, and many of them large, populous, and opulent : they possessed valuable immunities and privileges ; and the genius of their internal government was in a great measure democratical.\* The sovereign was absent, the treasury exhausted, and the army in a feeble condition. All these circumstances contributed to animate the popular chiefs, whose first care was to establish a bond of union among the insurgents. A general convention was appointed to be held at Avila, to which the cities sent their deputies. They bound themselves by a solemn oath to defend their privileges, and assuming the title of the Holy Junta, proceeded to deliberate concerning the national affairs. Their cause received a great accession of strength:

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\* Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 2. p. 230, 231.

from the successful measures of Don Juan de Padilla. That general, after relieving Segovia, suddenly marched to Tordefillas, where Joanna had resided since the death of her husband Philip. Presenting himself before her, he painted in glowing colours the sufferings of her subjects under the government of her son. The unhappy Princess, as if awakened from a lethargy, declared that she had never heard of the death of her father, adding this expression: "Until I can provide a sufficient remedy, let it be your care to do what is necessary for the public welfare." The words were readily seized by Padilla: the Junta fixed their residence at Tordefillas, and pretended that the Queen had recovered the use of her reason. But if she had enjoyed any lucid interval, she soon relapsed into her former state, and could never be brought to exercise any of the functions of royalty.

The Junta, however, endeavoured to conceal her melancholy situation. They announced her recovery to the people, and carried on the business of government in her name. And Don Padilla being sent to Valladolid, divested the Regent of his authority, and brought away the seals of the kingdom and the public archives. In Germany, Charles received repeated intelligence of the commotions which agitated

Spain ; but the critical state of his affairs did not permit his immediate return to that country. His various embarrassments induced him to try the effect of conciliatory measures : he offered the insurgents a general pardon on condition of laying down their arms : he promised not to exact the subsidies granted by the late Cortes, and engaged that no public office should, for the future, be conferred on any but native Castilians. But, at the same time, he exhorted the nobles to defend the rights of the crown and the aristocracy against the exorbitant claims of the Commons, and appointed the High Admiral and the High Constable of Castile to act as Regents in conjunction with Adrian.

But the influence of the people had attained to such a height as not to be easily repressed ; and the Junta, relying on the unanimity and ardour displayed by the cities, resolved not to rest satisfied with the redress which they had demanded before the departure of the King. The objects at which they aimed were published in a bold remonstrance, distinctly stating the abuses of which they had demanded the reform. They required that the King should return and reside in Spain, and that, on any necessary absence, he should commit the regency to a native of the kingdom. Besides the exclusion of foreigners from office, they demanded that their naturaliza-

tion should not be permitted : that all taxes should be reduced to the same state as they were at the death of Queen Isabella, and that all alienations of the royal revenues, since that period, should be resumed : that in all future Cortes each city should send three representatives, one of the clergy, one of the nobility, and one of the Commons, each to be elected by his own order : that no member should receive any office or pension from the King ; and that the Cortes, whether summoned by the sovereign or not, should meet every three years to deliberate on the affairs of the nation. Such were the principal articles which the Commons proposed to the crown. At the same time they resolved to humble the aristocracy. They demanded the revocation of all privileges which the nobles had, at any time, obtained to the prejudice of the Commons : that they should not be appointed governors of cities or towns, and that their possessions should be subject to all public taxes in the same manner as those of the people.

This was the critical juncture of Spanish liberty. Till this time the aristocratical and democratical parties had perfectly harmonized : the grandees of Spain, desirous of curtailing the royal authority, favoured the cause of the Commons so long as their proceedings and views were directed solely against the power of the crown.

But they no sooner perceived the privileges of their own order invaded, than the scene was entirely changed. Apprehending the extinction of their power and influence from the efforts of a levelling democracy, which was constantly extending its claims, they prepared to resist the storm ; and seeing the unavoidable necessity of obeying either the Prince or the people, they ranged themselves on the side of the crown.

In the mean while the deputies, whom the Junta had appointed to present their remonstrance to the Emperor, having been informed that they could not proceed to Germany, but at the risk of their lives, returned without executing their commission. This circumstance increased, to the highest pitch, the indignation of the Commons : that a King of Castile should deny his subjects access to his presence, was regarded as an unprecedented and intolerable instance of tyranny ; and the Junta resolved on the most vigorous measures for opposing the combined powers of the crown and the aristocracy. Twenty thousand men immediately ranged themselves under the popular standard ; but an egregious error was committed in the choice of a commander. Don Juan de Padilla was the idol of the insurgents : the inclinations of the soldiers and the people were united in his favour ; but Don Pedro de Giron, eldest son of the Count de

Ūruena, who, through private resentment against the King, had joined the Commons, was preferred by the Junta on account of his illustrious birth, a singular reason at a time when the object in view was the exaltation of the people, and the humiliation of the superior orders. The effects of their mistake soon became visible. Don Giron, though perhaps true to the cause in which he had engaged, possessed not abilities equal to so important a trust. Confiding in the superiority of his numbers, he advanced to Rio Seco, where the army of the Regents, commanded by the Count de Haro, was posted, and having seized the avenues attempted to cut off their supplies of provisions. But a considerable convoy having passed safe through his posts, he discovered the impracticability of the measure; and seeing himself disappointed in his design, he suddenly marched to Villa Penda, where the Regents had their principal magazines. This movement left Tordefillas open to the royalists; and the Count de Haro did not fail to profit by the oversight. Marching rapidly to that town, he surprised and cut to pieces a regiment of priests, who had undertaken to guard the place, made himself master of the person of the Queen, recovered the great seal of the kingdom and the other insignia of royalty.

This was a fatal blow to the Commons. Don Giron, their general, was evidently incapable of contending against the superior skill and experience of the Count de Haro, and the unsuccessful result of his manœuvres had rendered his fidelity suspected. Conscious of having lost the popular confidence, he immediately resigned the command of the army. Don Juan de Padilla was, by the Junta, nominated as his successor: his appointment restored the spirits of the people, and his standard was daily joined by new levies. On both sides the most vigorous preparations were made for continuing the contest. The difficulty of procuring money was to both parties the greatest embarrassment. On the side of the Commons it was in a great measure removed by the bold and decisive measures of Donna Maria Pacheco Padilla, the wife of Don Juan, the popular general. Superior to the scruples of superstition, and the fears of weak minds, she proposed to seize the rich ornaments of the cathedral of Toledo; and the manner of executing the project shewed the acuteness of her genius. To avoid the imputation of sacrilege, she marched to the church in solemn procession, devoutly implored the pardon of the saints, whose shrines the cause of her country compelled her to violate; and by this artifice reconciled the minds of the multitude to so ex-

traordinary a proceeding. The Regents laboured under the same want of money, but they dared not have recourse to similar expedients. They raised a scanty supply from the Queen's jewels, the plate of the nobility, and a trifling loan negotiated in Portugal. After an ineffectual attempt to compromise matters by treaty, the hostile armies again took the field; and that of the Commons, under Padilla, carried Torrelobaton by assault. But while the Junta had been amused with overtures of peace, a considerable number of their troops, disgusted with inaction, or desirous of enjoying the booty which they had acquired, withdrew from the camp; and when the army of the Regents advanced, Padilla, discouraged by the desertion of his soldiers, endeavoured to retreat to Toro. But before he could reach the gates of that city, the appearance of the Count de Haro, at the head of his cavalry, compelled him to risk an action in a deep and miry ground. The troops of the Junta, exhausted with fatigue, were broken by the vigorous charge of the royalists. Padilla in vain attempted to rally them by his example: rushing, with his principal officers, on the ranks of the enemy, he was wounded and taken prisoner; and without even the form of a trial, was led to execution. He viewed the approach of death with calm and dauntless composure. In

a letter written to his wife a few hours before he suffered, he displayed a spirit superior to his fate : in another addressed to his native city of Toledo, he exulted in the cause for which he was to die ; and he submitted to the stroke of the executioner with the fortitude of a hero and the resignation of a Christian.

The fall of Don Juan de Padilla was followed by the submission of the cities of Castile. Toledo alone, animated by the presence of his widow, continued to brave the royal authority. Their admiration of her courage and abilities, their sympathy for her misfortunes, and their veneration for the memory of her husband, secured to her the same ascendancy over the minds of the citizens which he himself had possessed ; and to maintain it she employed every artifice that her fertile genius could suggest. She marched through the streets of Toledo with her infant son clad in deep mourning, preceded by a standard, on which was represented the manner of his father's execution, and caused crucifixes instead of colours to be carried before her troops. By these expedients she kept up, during the space of six months, the enthusiasm of the citizens, who defended the town with vigour, and routed, in repeated sallies, the forces of the Regents. At first her cause was espoused by the clergy ; but her necessities obliging her to require their con-

tribution towards the expense of the contest, they became her enemies. By their arts they gradually diminished her influence ; and she found herself on the point of being abandoned by the populace. In this extremity she retired, with a few determined followers, to the citadel, in which, with the most astonishing fortitude, she maintained herself four months longer ; and at last, making her escape in disguise, she took refuge in Portugal, after stamping, by her heroic exploits, a lasting celebrity on her name.

During these transactions the Province of Valentia was rent by commotions still more violent than those of Castile. But the resentment of the Commons was directed against the aristocracy rather than the crown. They drove the nobles out of the cities, assaulted and plundered their castles, and wasted their lands. The councils, as well as the troops of the insurgents, were conducted by low mechanics, who, by the violence of their proceedings, acquired the confidence of the multitude. The Commons of Valentia, however, carried on the war with greater vigour and perseverance than could have been expected from so tumultuous a body, conducted by such ignorant leaders. Ferocity and determined resolution supplied the want of tactical skill and regular discipline : the troops which the barons had raised among their vassals were repeatedly

defeated, and the aristocratical order was threatened with total destruction. But after the defeat of Don Juan de Padilla had enabled the Regents to join their forces to those of the Count de Melito, who commanded the army of the Valentian barons, the Commons were incapable of resisting the united strength of the nobles and the crown: their troops were defeated, and their leaders fell in battle, or by the hand of the executioner: the cities were reduced to obedience; and this famous struggle, like all unsuccessful insurrections, only tended to establish the despotism of the crown, and to rivet the fetters of slavery on the people.

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*CHAP. XIII.*

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Discovery of Mexico.—Expedition of Cortez.—His quarrel with the governor of Cuba.—His war with the Tlascalans.—The Tlascalans submit and join Cortez in the war against Mexico.—Negotiations with Montezuma.—Massacre of Cholula.—The Spaniards and their allies are received into the city of Mexico.—Description of Mexico and its situation.—Cortez seizes the Emperor.—Defeats Pamphilo de Narvaez.—Returns to Mexico.—General armament of the Mexicans.—Death of Montezuma.—Retreat of the Spaniards out of Mexico.—Siege and capture of Mexico.

WHILE Charles was establishing himself on the throne of Germany, and erecting the fabric of despotism in Spain, his adventurous subjects were extending his dominions in the new world in a manner and degree which astonished mankind. Diego Velasquez, who, in the year 1511, had conquered Cuba, and continued to govern that island as the deputy of Don Diego Columbus, fitted out, in 1517, an expedition for making discoveries to the westward, and gave the command to Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, an opulent planter, and a man of distinguished

courage, who joined with the governor in advancing the money requisite for the undertaking. At their expense three small vessels were equipped, and a hundred and ten Spanish adventurers embarked under the command of Cordova, and the direction of Antonio Alaminos, a skilful pilot who had served under the first discoverer, Columbus. The expedition sailed from St. Jago de Cuba, on the 8th February 1517, and after a course of twenty-five days to the west arrived at the coast of Yutacan. The Spaniards continued their course along the coast as far as Campeachy, where they were received in a friendly manner by the people of the country. Cordova then proceeded to the mouth of a river near Potonchon; but on landing his men to take in water, he was so furiously attacked by the natives that forty-seven of the Spaniards were killed on the spot, and only one man of the whole body escaped unhurt. The commander, however, although covered with wounds, directed the retreat with a presence of mind equal to the courage which he had displayed in the engagement. After this fatal rencounter the Spanish adventurers hastened back to Cuba. On their passage they suffered extreme distress, from their wounds, from sickness, from the heat of the climate, and from want of water. Many of them sunk under this combination of hardships,

and their commander expired soon after he arrived at St. Jago.

No scenes of disaster or distress, however, could damp the spirit of enterprise among the Spaniards in the new world. An extensive country had been discovered : its appearance was fertile ; and from the ornaments of gold, which Cordova and his followers had procured, there was reason to conclude that it abounded in wealth. This supposition was sufficient to excite romantic expectations among desperate and daring adventurers. Velasques, desirous of distinguishing himself by some splendid service, fitted out, at his own expense, four ships for another voyage. Two hundred and forty volunteers embarked for the enterprise, under the command of Juan de Grijalva, whose instructions were to observe the nature of the country, to traffic with the natives for gold, and, if circumstances were inviting, to establish a colony. On the 8th April, 1518, Grijalva sailed from St. Jago ; and after arriving on the Mexican coast, he landed all his troops, and some field-pieces, near the place where the Spaniards had received their former defeat. The determined valour of the natives, however, soon convinced the invaders that in this country they would meet with such a resistance as they had never experienced in any other part of the new world.

After gaining a difficult victory Grijalva re-embarked his troops, and, sailing along the coast, the Spaniards observed, with surprise, the promising aspect of the country, and the novelty of the objects which presented themselves to their view. They discovered a number of villages scattered along the coast, and could distinguish several houses of stone. The appearance of the country, so different from any thing they had hitherto met with in America, led them, in the warmth of their imagination, to fancy that it resembled their native land; and with unanimous consent they gave it the name of New Spain. In the province since known by the name of Guaxaca, they were received by the people with the respect paid to superior beings; and in the space of six days the Spaniards obtained ornaments of gold, of curious workmanship, to the value of fifteen hundred pesos, in exchange for European toys. Several of those desperate adventurers proposed to establish a colony, and wait for reinforcements to enable them to accomplish their schemes of conquest and plunder. But many of the men being sickly, and the provisions nearly exhausted or rendered unfit for use by the heat of the climate, the commander regarded it as too perilous an undertaking, in such circumstances, to attempt the subjugation of a people whom he perceived to

be intelligent and warlike, and not, like the savage tribes of the islands, subject to a number of petty chiefs, but united under one powerful monarch. Having explored several hundred miles of the Mexican coast, and discovered that the country was every where fertile and opulent, he considered himself as having accomplished all that it was possible to perform with so feeble an armament, and, after a voyage of six months, returned to St. Jago.

These important discoveries excited an universal spirit of enterprise among the Spaniards of Cuba. Don Velasques immediately made preparations for a conquest which promised to gratify both his ambition and avarice. He exerted all his influence in engaging the most distinguished persons in the island to undertake the service, and advanced a considerable sum towards defraying the expenses of the expedition. At a time when the spirit of adventure so pre-eminently characterized the Spanish nation, a number of soldiers, ready to embark in any daring enterprise, soon appeared. But Velasques found himself greatly embarrassed in the choice of a commander of abilities equal to so arduous an undertaking, without possessing either influence or fortune sufficient to enable him to aspire to any higher rank than that of the deputy of him from whom he had received his nomination.

With this view he gave the command to Ferdinando Cortez, who had, in the most trying situations, displayed the most transcendant abilities; but whose poverty was such that Velasques did not regard him as an object of jealousy. Cortez had no sooner received his commission than he erected his standard, and exerted all his activity in urging the preparations for the expedition. He expended all the money that he possessed, and all that he could borrow on a mortgage of his lands, amounting in the whole to six thousand pesos,\* in purchasing military stores and provisions, or in affording assistance to such of his followers as were not able to equip themselves for the service. On the 18th November, 1518, Cortez sailed from St. Jago de Cuba, and proceeded to Trinidad, a small settlement, where he was joined by several adventurers, and received a supply of provisions and military stores. But the armament was scarcely out of sight before the jealous mind of Velasques was alarmed by the suggestions of the enemies of Cortez. They represented the commander as aiming to establish an independent authority over his troops, and endeavouring to secure their respect and obedience by an ostentatious liberality. Their insinuations had the desired effect. Velasques

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\* About 1500*l.* sterling.

dispatched instructions to the chief magistrate at Trinidad to deprive Cortez of his commission. The commander, aware of his danger, lost no time in proceeding to the Havannah in order to engage more volunteers, and to complete the victualling of his fleet. At that place several persons of distinction entered into the service and engaged to supply what provisions were still wanting. In the mean while Velasques dispatched to the Governor of the Havannah a peremptory injunction to arrest Cortez, and send him, under a strong guard, to St. Jago, and to countermand the sailing of the armament till further orders. Timely notice of this was given by a Franciscan friar to Father Bartholomew de Olmcida, chaplain to the expedition; and Cortez being thus forewarned of his danger, had leisure to take his precautions. Having assembled his troops, he discovered to them the intentions of Velasques. Both officers and soldiers expressed their astonishment and indignation at the conduct of the governor. Impatient to proceed on an expedition in preparing for which most of them had expended their whole fortune, with one voice they declared that they would shed the last drop of their blood in maintaining the authority of their general, and denounced vengeance against those who should obstruct the execution of his designs.

Although the Governor of Cuba had furnished a considerable part of the expenses of the armament, and although each adventurer had exhausted his stock or strained his credit; the fleet consisted of only eleven small vessels, the largest of a hundred tons, three of seventy or eighty, and the rest small open barks. The whole number of men amounted to six hundred and seventeen, of whom five hundred and eighty were soldiers, and a hundred and nine were seamen and artificers. As fire-arms were scarce, and like all other articles of military equipment, excessively dear in America, only thirteen soldiers were armed with muskets, thirty-two were crossbow-men, and all the rest had swords and spears. For defensive armour, the soldiers wore jackets quilted with cotton, which the Spaniards had found, from experience, to be a sufficient safeguard against the weapons of the Americans. Their horses were only sixteen in number: they had four falconets and ten small field-pieces, which composed their whole train of artillery. As religious enthusiasm was constantly united with the spirit of adventure among the Spaniards in the new world, a large cross, with an appropriate inscription, was displayed in their standards.

With this feeble armament Cortez undertook the conquest of an empire more extensive than

all the dominions of Spain. On the 10th of February, 1519, he set sail from the Havannah, and steering to the west, arrived at the Island of Cozumel, where he had the good fortune to meet with Jerome de Aguilar, a Spaniard, who had been eight years a prisoner among the Indians, and having learned their language, was extremely useful as an interpreter. Cortez then proceeded to the river of Tabasco, where, meeting with an unfavourable reception from the natives, he commenced hostilities. Their resistance was obstinate; but the terrible appearance of the horses, and the destructive effects of the fire-arms, obliged them to sue for peace; and Cortez obtained a supply of provisions, with some cotton clothing, a small quantity of gold, and twenty female slaves, among whom was one afterwards known by the name of Donna Marina, who, being a Mexican by birth, was perfectly acquainted with the language of that empire, as well as with that of Yucatan, which Aguilar had acquired, and ever after served Cortez as an interpreter.\*

The Spanish commander, having re-embarked his forces, proceeded along the coast to St. Juan

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\* Donna Marina understanding the Mexican and Yucatan languages, and Aguilar understanding the Yucatan and Spanish, a regular mode of interpretation was established. Roberts, Hist. Amer. vol. 2, p. 162.

de Ulua. In that harbour two persons of distinction came on board, who announced themselves as deputies from Teutile and Pilpatoe, two officers to whom the government of the province was committed by a great monarch whom they called Montezuma, and said that they were come to inquire what were his intentions in visiting their coast, and to offer him whatever assistance he might need for prosecuting his voyage. Cortez assured them that his intentions were friendly, and that he had matters of great importance to communicate to the monarch. The next morning Cortez landed his troops, and began to fortify his camp; and on the following day Teutile and Pilpatoe made their appearance with a numerous retinue. The Spanish General received them with the most formal and ceremonious respect. He informed them that he came as ambassador from the King of Spain, the greatest monarch of the East, and required them to conduct him, without loss of time, to the presence of their sovereign. The Mexican officers were startled at the proposal, and in order to induce him to desist from his purpose they endeavoured to conciliate his favour by presents of cotton cloth, plumes of various colours, and ornaments of gold and silver of curious workmanship and considerable value. The display of these riches produced a very different effect from what the

Mexicans intended. They rendered the Spaniards impatient of becoming masters of a country which appeared to abound with such precious productions ; and Cortez peremptorily insisted on being conducted to a personal interview with Montezuma.

During this interview some painters, who accompanied the Mexican chiefs, were employed in delineating, upon white cotton cloth, figures of the ships, the horses, the artillery, and soldiers. Cortez being informed that these pictures were to be sent to Montezuma, in order to convey to him a just idea of these strange objects, which appeared to them so strange and wonderful, he resolved to render the scene still more striking, by exhibiting such a spectacle as might give both them and their monarch an awful impression of the extraordinary powers of the Spaniards, and the irresistible force of their arms. Having ordered the trumpets to sound an alarm, the troops, in a moment, formed in order of battle, the infantry performed such martial exercises as were most proper for displaying the effects of their different weapons : in various evolutions the horses shewed their strength and agility, and the cannon being pointed against the woods near the camp, their fire made a dreadful havock among the trees. The Mexicans contemplated the scene with silent amazement ; at

the explosion of the cannon many of them fled; others fell to the ground, and all of them were terrified and confounded at the sight of men who seemed to be armed with supernatural powers.

Messengers were immediately dispatched to Montezuma with the painted representations of the wonderful objects which they had seen, and an account of all that had passed. Cortez also took that opportunity to send to the Mexican Emperor a present of some European curiosities. As regular posts were established in Mexico, a refinement in police unknown at that time in Europe, he received, in a few days, an answer to his demands, accompanied with presents becoming the magnificence of a great monarch.\* They consisted of cotton stuffs of a delicate texture, resembling silk, pictures of animals, trees, and other objects, formed with feathers of different colours, so skillfully disposed as to rival the works of the pencil. But what chiefly attracted the attention of the Spaniards was two large plates of a circular form, one of massive gold representing the sun, the other of silver, being an emblem of the moon. These were accompanied with bracelets, rings, and other ornaments of gold; and several boxes filled

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\* Vide Robertson's Hist. America, vol. 2. book 5. p. 166, 167.

with pearls, precious stones, and grains of unwrought gold, which gave the invaders a complete idea of the riches of the country.

Cortez received these presents with all the appearance of profound veneration for the monarch by whom they were sent. But when the Mexicans informed him that Montezuma would not permit foreign troops to approach the capital, the Spanish commander insisted on his first requisition, declaring that he could not, without dishonour, return to his own country until he had been admitted to an audience of the monarch, to whom he was sent as ambassador. The Mexicans astonished at seeing any man dare to dispute the will of their sovereign, and dreading a rupture with such formidable enemies, requested him to wait the return of another messenger from Mexico.

Had Montezuma at first acted with decision, he might, without doubt, have expelled this handful of Spaniards from his dominions. Bold and vigorous measures were congenial to his character: he was haughty, violent, and impatient of control: his subjects regarded him with awe, and his enemies with terror: his dominions were of great extent: his people were numerous and warlike, his authority unbounded, and his resources considerable: his political and military talents were universally acknowledged,

and his victories had spread through the neighbouring countries the dread of his arms. But in this extraordinary and novel conjuncture, instead of taking such resolutions as the consciousness of his power and the remembrance of his former exploits might have inspired, he deliberated with hesitation and anxiety. His timidity and embarrassment on this occasion may be referred to two principal causes, the impression which the Spaniards had made by the novelty of their appearance, and the superstitious apprehension of impending calamity. According to the most authentic Spanish historians, an opinion almost universally prevailed among the Americans that a formidable race of invaders should come from the regions towards the rising sun to conquer and devastate their country. It is impossible to discover from what source this disquieting apprehension had originated; but it seems to have been first suggested by the astonishment which the appearance of the Spaniards had excited. As the Mexicans were of all the American nations the most prone to gloomy superstitions, they were the most deeply impressed with this terrific idea, which equally dismayed the monarch and his subjects, who suspected the Spaniards to be the instruments destined to effect this dreaded revolution. But in contemplating the chain of causes and effects

in the complication of human affairs, it is evident that if the measures of Montezuma had been as vigorous and decisive as they were feeble and pusillanimous, if he had instantly collected all his forces and overwhelmed Cortez, and his slender band of adventurers, the fatal period of the Mexican monarchy could only have been for a short time postponed : that opulent empire must have fallen when the Spaniards had become powerful in Cuba and the other islands.

Montezuma, however, on being informed that Cortez had declared his intention not to return without visiting the capital, sent him a positive order to depart instantly out of his dominions ; and the peremptory refusal of the general to comply with the injunction, put an end to all friendly intercourse between the Spaniards and the Mexicans. A considerable degree of terror and anxiety, however, pervaded the Spanish camp as well as the court of Mexico. Among the adventurers a variety of sentiments prevailed in regard to their future proceedings. Many of them considered it as an act of frenzy to attack such an empire as Mexico with so feeble and ill-provided a force : others had formed such extravagant ideas of the wealth of the country that, despising dangers and hardships, they were eager to attempt the conquest. Cortez, who favoured the advocates for bold measures, by his

consummate address found means to inspire the whole army with his own sentiments ; and the foldiers with loud acclamations conjured him to lead them to Mexico. Being now sure of the affection of his followers, and perceiving their ardour for proceeding in the enterprize, Cortez resolved openly to cast off his dependence on the Governor of Cuba. For this purpose he established a colony on the model of a Spanish corporation. The magistrates were elected by the army, and consisted of persons the most firmly attached to the general, and the instrument of their election was drawn up in the name of the King of Spain. Into their hands he resigned his authority, and from them, as the representatives of the King, he received a new commission of chief justice of the colony and captain general of the army. By this sagacious measure Cortez firmly attached the troops to his interest, and obliged the officers to persevere in the enterprize by implicating them in his rebellion against the Governor of Cuba. Some of the adherents of Velasquez exclaimed against these proceedings as illegal. Cortez immediately arrested Diego de Ordaz, Juan Escudero, and Velasquez de Leon, and sent them in irons on board of the fleet. But as he was more desirous of reclaiming than punishing the prisoners, who were officers of distinguished merit, he courted

their friendship with such assiduity that he soon brought them over to his party. In all his proceedings at this critical juncture, Cortez owed much of his success to the Mexican gold, which he distributed among his troops with a liberal hand,\* and thus rendered the presents of Montezuma conducive to the subversion of his empire.

Cortez, having thus rendered the union between himself and the army indissoluble, had the further good fortune to conclude a treaty of peace and alliance with the Caziques of Zempoalla and Quiabistan. From these chiefs he learned various particulars concerning the state of the Mexican empire, the tyranny of the Emperor, and the disaffection of many of the provinces. These accounts inspired Cortez with new hopes: he perceived that the vast empire which he designed to attack was not perfectly united, nor its sovereign universally beloved; and he resolved to render these circumstances subservient to his purpose. He artfully declared that his principal object in coming so far from his own country was the relief of the oppressed and the chastisement of the oppressors. The two Caziques, eager to shake off the yoke of Montezuma, readily agreed to acknowledge the King

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\* Robertson, vol. ii. p. 185.

of Spain as their sovereign, and to unite their forces with those of Cortez in the war against Mexico ; and the Totanaques, a fierce people, who inhabited a mountainous part of the country, followed their example.

Amidst all these favourable appearances, however, Cortez was not without apprehensions. He dreaded the vengeance of the Governor of Cuba : and in order to prevent its effects, he persuaded the members of the colony to send a deputation to the King to justify their conduct. Montejo and Portocarrero, the chief magistrates of the colony, were appointed to carry the dispatches, accompanied with rich presents to procure them a more favourable reception ; and they had positive orders to avoid touching at Cuba in their passage to Spain. While the delegates were preparing for their departure, an unexpected event excited great alarm. Some of the soldiers and seamen, secretly attached to Velasquez, or intimidated at the prospect of danger, formed the design of seizing one of the brigantines, and making their escape to Cuba, in order to give the governor such intelligence as might enable him to intercept the vessel that carried the presents and dispatches ; but the plot was betrayed by one of the conspirators at the moment when it was ready for execution. A variety of reflections, however, filled the mind of Cortez

with disquieting apprehensions. He observed that several of his followers were already desirous of returning to Cuba; and he had reason to suspect that excessive fatigue and the appearance of extraordinary danger would incline them to abandon the arduous enterprise in which they were engaged. From these considerations he concluded that the only method of assuring himself of their perseverance was to cut off all possibility of a retreat. Being for his own part resolved to achieve the conquest of Mexico, or perish in the attempt, he determined to destroy his fleet in order to oblige them to adopt the same resolution by which he was animated. But as he durst not venture on so desperate a measure by his own authority, the great difficulty was to convince his followers of its expediency. His address, however, was equal to the emergency. By persuading them that the ships were unfit for further service, by observing to them the accession of strength that would be derived from the junction of a hundred men hitherto uselessly employed as sailors, and by representing the brilliant prospects of wealth before them, he obtained their concurrence to the boldest measure ever adopted by an army. With general consent the ships were drawn ashore and broken in pieces, the sails, rigging, iron works, &c. being taken out and preserved. “Thus,

“from an effort of magnanimity,” says Dr. Robertson, “to which there is nothing parallel in history, five hundred men voluntarily consented to be shut up in a hostile country filled with numerous and unknown nations; and having precluded every means of escape, left themselves without any resource but their own valour and perseverance.” The whole transaction strikingly displays not only the dauntless resolution of Cortez, but his consummate address and peculiar talent of gaining the ascendancy over the minds of those with whom he was connected.

This important affair being settled, the Spanish general, at the head of five hundred infantry and fifteen cavalry, with six field pieces, began, on the 16th of August, his march towards Mexico. The rest of his troops were left as a garrison at Vera Cruz, under the command of Escalante, an officer zealously attached to Cortez. The Spaniards, accompanied by four hundred armed Zempoallans, besides two hundred others, who were employed in carrying the baggage, drawing the artillery, and other necessary labours, proceeded, without opposition, to the confines of Tlascala. The inhabitants of that province were a warlike and independent people: their government was republican, and they were implacable enemies to the Mexicans, against

whose superior power they had maintained an obstinate and successful contest. But, supposing that the design of Cortez, in visiting Mexico, was to form an alliance with Montezuma, they refused him a passage through their dominions. A war between the Spaniards and the Tlascalans was the consequence of this refusal. The Tlascalans brought such numerous armies into the field as might have been sufficient to overwhelm the Spaniards; but they could never make any impression on their slender battalion. Their tumultuous attacks, though renewed with great courage and perseverance, were easily repelled by European tactics and discipline; and various battles and skirmishes, in which many thousands of Tlascalans fell, but not a single Spaniard was killed or taken, though several were slightly wounded, proved the inefficacy of American weapons.\* The Tlascalans began to regard the Spaniards as a race of superior beings, against whom no human power could prevail; and the latter had reason to presume that nothing in America could resist the efforts of their arms. The Spaniards, however, besides being exhausted with the fatigue of hard service, unavoidable among a small body of men surrounded by mul-

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\* There were chiefly spears of wood pointed at the end, and sometimes headed with flints, bones, &c.

titudes of enemies, were in want of provisions and other necessities, and many of them were sickly. Both parties were therefore desirous of peace: the Tlascalans made proposals which were readily accepted: they acknowledged themselves vassals to the crown of Spain, and engaged to assist Cortez, with the whole force of their republic, in his operations against Mexico.

The treaty being concluded, the Spanish general remained about three weeks at Tlascala, in order to refresh his troops; and, during this interval of repose, he obtained information concerning every particular respecting the state of Mexico and the qualities of its sovereign that could be of use in regulating his future proceedings. In his daily conferences with the Tlascalan chiefs he found that their enmity to the Mexicans was implacable, and perceived, with the highest satisfaction, what benefit might be derived from the aid of such powerful allies. As soon as his troops were fit for service he resolved to continue his march to the Mexican capital. Being reinforced by 6000 Tlascalans, the Spaniards advanced to Cholula, a considerable town about five leagues distant from Tlascala, Montezuma having sent the general an invitation to proceed to that place with the promise of a friendly reception. Cortez was

received in the town with much apparent respect; but the interpreter, Donna Marina, soon discovered that a plan was formed for his destruction, and that a body of Mexican troops lay concealed near the town for that purpose. Three of the chief priests being arrested and put to the torture, Cortez extorted from them a confession that confirmed the intelligence. Cholula being regarded by the Mexicans as the chief sanctuary and seat of their Gods, was famed for the resort of pilgrims, and the number of human victims sacrificed in its principal temple; and it is probable that Montezuma had selected this place for cutting off the Spaniards, in the superstitious hope of carrying his design into execution with greater certainty of success under the immediate protection of his divinities. Cortez, however, resolved to anticipate the blow, and to strike the Mexicans with terror. The Spaniards and the Zempoallans were drawn up in a large court near the centre of the city, and the Tlascalans, who were encamped on the outside, had orders to advance. On a signal being given the attack began: a horrible slaughter was made of the citizens: the priests were consumed in the flames of their temples; and six thousand of the Cholulans were destroyed without the loss of a single Spaniard.

On the 29th October Cortez advanced from Cholula directly towards Mexico, which was only about sixty miles distant. In every place the Spaniards were received as beings of cœlestial origin, sent to deliver the people from the tyranny of Montezuma; and the symptoms of disaffection to the government, which appeared not only in the remote provinces but in the vicinity of the capital, inspired Cortez with the most sanguine hope of conquering an empire, of which the natural strength was thus divided and impaired. The soldiers, in the mean while, were animated by the magnificent prospects before them. In descending the mountains of Chalco the vast plain of Mexico opened to their view. When they first beheld this prospect, one of the most striking and beautiful on the face of the earth, when they saw fertile and cultivated fields stretching farther than the eye could reach, with a lake, resembling the sea in extent, encompassed with large towns, and the metropolis of the empire rising upon an island near the western side, like Venice in the Adriatic, they were struck with astonishment and admiration in contemplating the singular and stupendous scenery. They were satisfied that the country was rich beyond any conception which they had hitherto formed, and they flattered themselves that all

their hardships, dangers, and toils, would be amply compensated.\*

The city of Mexico is situated in a spacious plain environed by lofty mountains. Standing on the banks of the lake and on some small islands, this capital of Montezuma's dominions was, during the rainy season, completely insulated by the water overflowing the flat and low country.† On the eastern side the city could be approached only by canoes: on the land side the access was by raised causeways, in which several openings, covered with bridges of timber and earth, were left to facilitate the flowing of the waters. These causeways were three in number: that of Tacnba. on the west, extended a mile and a half; that of Tepeaca, on the north west, three miles; and that of Cuoyaeon was not less than six miles in length. The city

\* The magnificent prospect of the plain, the lake, and the city of Mexico, is described in terms of rapturous admiration by Bartol. del Castillo, quoted by Dr. Robertson. Hist. Amer. vol. 2. p. 206, and note 109. The lake is composed of two pieces of water communicating with each other by a strait, being altogether about ninety miles in circuit. The whole plain displays the most luxuriant fertility. Although situated in the torrid Zone the air is temperate, but moist and unhealthy.

† The present city of Mexico stands on the same ground as the ancient capital of Montezuma, but the circuit of the lake has been considerably diminished by means of a canal which has been cut through the mountains, and which, by letting off part of the waters, has left dry the flat shore. Modern Mexico, therefore, is not seated on an island, as it has been generally represented, but on the margin of the lake, in a marsh intersected by numerous canals. The city is built on piles. Vide D'Aceteroche, p. 41, and the plan of Mexico annexed to his description.

was intersected with numerous canals, and contained several open places or squares, one of which, allotted for the great market, is said to have been sufficiently spacious for forty or fifty thousand persons to transact their business. The temples of the Gods,\* the palace of the monarch, and the houses of persons of distinction, were of stone: the habitations of the common people were only mean huts; but they were placed in a regular manner on the banks of the canals which passed through the city in some of its districts, and in others along the sides of the streets. The population of Mexico has been variously computed: but from the lowest estimate it appears to have comprised at least 60,000 inhabitants.†

As the Spaniards approached the city a number of messengers arrived successively from Montezuma, who sometimes granted them permission to advance, and at other times sent them orders to retire, as his hopes or his fears alternately prevailed. Cortez, however, disregarding the sentiments of the Emperor, continued his march along the causeway which led to Mexico. When the Spaniards drew near the city they were met by about a thousand persons, clothed in mantles

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\* Dr. Robertson, *Hist. Amer.* vol. 3. p. 149.

† Humboldt's comparison of the different climates. *Hist. Amer.* vol. 3. p. 149. He estimates the population of the modern city of Mexico at 120,000. *Hist. Amer.* vol. 3. note 170.

of fine cotton and adorned with plumes. These announced the approach of Montezuma, and his harbingers soon after appeared. Two hundred persons in a uniform dress, with large plumes of feathers, marched two and two in profound silence, barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground. These were followed by a company of higher rank in splendid apparel, in the midst of whom was Montezuma in a chair, richly ornamented with gold and feathers of various colours. He was carried on the shoulders of four of his principal attendants, and others bore a canopy of curious workmanship over his head. Before him marched three officers with golden rods, which they lifted up at certain intervals, and at that signal all the people bowed their heads. When he approached the Spaniards, he alighted from his chair, and Cortez, dismounting at the same time, accosted him with profound reverence after the European etiquette. Montezuma returned the salutation according to the Mexican mode; and afterwards conducted the Spaniards to their quarters. The place assigned for that purpose was a house, the apartments and courts of which were so spacious as to accommodate both the Spaniards and their allies; and the whole was surrounded by a wall of stone with towers at proper distances. The first care of Cortez was to provide for his security, by

planting the artillery so as to command the avenues ; by appointing guards, posting centinels, and enjoining the same vigilant discipline as if he had been within sight of a hostile camp.

In the evening Montezuma returned to the Spanish quarters, and his visit was accompanied with presents of great value, not only for Cortez and his officers, but also for the privates. A long conference took place, in which the Emperor declared it to be an established tradition among the Mexicans, that their ancestors having originally come from a remote region, and conquered the countries now forming their empire, the Great Captain, who had conducted the colony, left them with a promise that at some future period his descendants should visit them and reform their constitution and laws. Montezuma also expressed his belief that Cortez and his followers were the persons whose appearance had so long been expected, and that he had accordingly received them not as foreigners, but as his relations of the same blood and parentage, adding that both he and his subjects should always be ready to comply with their will. Cortez being sensible of the advantage that might be derived from such an opinion of the origin of the Spaniards, artfully endeavoured to confirm those ideas in the mind of the Mexican monarch. But it is easy to trace a vein of artifice in the dis-

course of Montezuma. The general opinion which prevailed throughout America respecting the arrival of a formidable host of strangers has already been mentioned; and Montezuma, although his imagination was undoubtedly haunted by the Mexican traditions and predictions, appears to have modelled them in such a manner as might lull the Spaniards into a fatal security, and facilitate the execution of his plans for their destruction.

Cortez, however, began seriously to reflect on his situation. The Tlascalans had constantly endeavoured to dissuade him from entering a city of so peculiar a situation as Mexico, where they would be shut up as it were in a snare; and they assured him that the priests had, in the name of the Gods, advised their sovereign to admit the Spaniards into the capital in order to cut them off with greater facility. Previous to their leaving Cholula, Cortez had been informed of an occurrence that gave him considerable alarm. A skirmish having taken place between the garrison of Vera Cruz and a body of Mexicans, a Spaniard was surrounded and taken by the enemy. The head of this unfortunate captive was cut off, and after being carried in triumph to different cities to convince the people that their invaders were not immortal, was sent

to Mexico. This circumstance, however, had not prevented Cortez from continuing his march, and having entered the capital, he resolved to maintain his station. By breaking the bridges or destroying part of the causeways his retreat might be rendered impracticable, but even if he should be permitted to retire, such a measure would frustrate all his expectations of conquest. At the same time he was conscious that nothing but extraordinary success could procure him the favour of his sovereign, and protect him from the vengeance of the Governor of Cuba. From all these considerations it was necessary to maintain his position, as desperate measures alone could extricate him from his various difficulties.

The resources of his mind were equal to his arduous situation, and he fixed on a plan no less extraordinary than daring. As he had observed the extreme veneration of the Mexicans for the person of their monarch, and their implicit submission to his will, he resolved to seize Montezuma and carry him to the Spanish quarters, so that by having the sovereign in his power, he might, by using his name, obtain the government of the empire, or at least, by retaining in his hand so sacred a pledge, assure himself of the peaceable disposition of the people. The

measure being warmly approved by the most intelligent and resolute of his followers, Cortez went to the palace, accompanied by Alvarado, Lugo, Davila, Sandoval, and Velasquez de Leon, five of his principal officers, and the same number of his boldest foldiers. At the same time thirty chosen men followed, not in regular order but straggling at some distance so as not to excite suspicion: small parties were posted at proper intervals; and the rest of the troops were under arms in the quarters, ready to fall out on the first alarm. Cortez, with his attendants, being admitted as usual to a private audience of the Emperor, began to accuse him of being the author of the hostilities which had taken place near Vera Cruz. Montezuma asserting his innocence, Cortez pretended to be fully satisfied, but declared that it would be impossible to convince the Spanish troops of his pacific intentions unless he would consent to fix his residence for some time in their quarters, in order to remove all cause of suspicion. The monarch remonstrated: Cortez insisted. The altercation had continued three hours, when Velasquez de Leon exclaimed, with an air of impatience, "Why waste more time. Let us either instantly seize him or stab him to the heart." Montezuma, although he did not

understand the words, was struck with the determined tone of voice and the menacing countenance of the Spanish officer. He saw the unavoidable necessity of compliance, and abandoning himself to his fate, consented to accompany Cortez to the quarters.

The Mexican courtiers being called, Montezuma communicated to them his intention. How highly soever they might disapprove of the measure, they presumed not to dispute the will of their sovereign, but carried him in silent pomp to the Spanish quarters. The people, assembling in a tumultuous manner, threatened the Spaniards with instant destruction for their audacity in carrying away the Emperor. But Montezuma declaring that he went, by his own choice, to reside a short time among his new friends, the multitude immediately dispersed. History affords no similar instance of a powerful monarch, who commanded many millions of subjects, being thus seized by eleven strangers,\* in his own palace, in the centre of a populous capital, and carried away as a prisoner without opposition.

Montezuma was received in the Spanish quarters with the most ceremonious respect: he was

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\* Cortez with five officers and five soldiers.

attended by his own domestics : his officers and courtiers had free access to his presence ; and in regard to external forms he experienced no change in his condition ; but he was watched with all the vigilance that was natural in guarding so important a prize. The Spaniards had now gotten into their hands an engine by which every thing might be accomplished. By possessing the person of the monarch, Cortez acquired the sovereignty over Mexico ; and availing himself of the power which he derived from being able to act in the name of Montezuma, he sent some Spaniards, accompanied by several Mexicans of distinction, to visit the different provinces of the empire, with orders to examine the soil and productions, to survey with particular care the districts which yielded gold or silver, and to fix on proper stations for colonies. In the name and by the authority of Montezuma he also displaced some of the principal officers of the empire, whose talents or independent spirit had excited his jealousy, and in their stead appointed persons from whom he expected less opposition in executing his designs.

Cortez, having now acquired a complete ascendancy over the Mexican monarch, required him to acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of Spain, and to subject his empire to the payment of an annual tribute. With this humiliating

requisition Montezuma complied.\* By the direction of Cortez he convened an assembly of the chief persons of the empire, and in a solemn harangue reminded them of the traditions and prophecies which led them to expect the arrival of a people sprung from the same stock with themselves, in order to assume the sovereignty of the empire, declaring his belief that the Spaniards were the promised race, and that he acknowledged himself the vassal and tributary of their monarch. The declaration of Cortez that Montezuma should still enjoy the royal dignity, and that no innovation should be made in the constitution and laws of the empire, together with their dread of the Spaniards, and the example of their monarch, extorted the consent of the assembly. Montezuma accompanied his profession of fealty and homage with a magnificent present, and his subjects following his example, increased its value by liberal contributions.

The Spaniards being impatient to divide all the gold and silver which had been received in presents from Montezuma or extorted from his subjects, Cortez complied with their request; and, the whole being melted, the value, exclusive

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\* De Solis asserts that the proposal of recognising the paramount sovereignty of the crown of Castile came from Montezuma himself, and that he hoped by this measure to induce the Spaniards to depart. Hist. Conquest of Mexico, book 4, cap. 3.

of jewels and ornaments, which were preserved as objects of curiosity, amounted to six hundred thousand pesos.\* As the Spaniards had exercised the greatest rapacity, and Montezuma had exhausted his treasures in the hope of satiating their thirst for gold, this sum appears to have included a great part of the bullion in the Mexican empire, although it bears so small a proportion to the modern product of its mines.† But among the Mexicans gold and silver not being used as the medium of commerce, or the standard of value, was employed only in ornaments consecrated to their gods, or worn as marks of distinction by their chiefs. The demand for those metals was therefore too small to afford any inducement to exercise their industry and ingenuity in working the rich mines with which their country abounded.‡ What gold they had was gathered in the beds of rivulets, and as silver is seldom found pure, and the Mexicans were ignorant of the art of refining, the quantity of that metal was still less considerable. The riches of Mexico, like those of other countries in the new world, were disregarded by its

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\* 135,000*l.* sterling at 4*s.* 6*d.* per peso*e.*

† A proof of the abundant product of the Mexican mines may be adduced from the coinage. According to the official registers 18,063,688 pesos, or 4,064,329*l.* 16*s.* sterling, were, in 1790, issued from the mint of Mexico. Helms. p. 257.

‡ This was the case among all the American nations, vide *Life of Columbus*.—Herrera, *Hist. Gen.*—Robertson's *Hist. Amer. &c.*

ancient inhabitants, and first brought into circulation by the Spaniards.

The division of the Mexican treasures being made, a fifth part of the whole was set apart as the tax due to the King. A fifth of the remainder was allotted to the commander in chief. The sums advanced by individuals towards defraying the expense of the armament were also deducted. The remainder being divided among the troops in proportion to military rank, the share of a private man amounted to about a hundred pesos.\* This sum fell so far short of their expectations as to excite a general murmur. As the crown had contributed nothing toward the expedition the soldiers were exasperated at seeing it sweep away so large a proportion of the spoil; and it required all the address of Cortez to appease their indignation.

Cortez had hitherto carried every point with success, but he failed in an attempt to induce Montezuma and the Mexicans to embrace christianity. He found the monarch and his subjects equally inflexible, and from that moment they began seriously to meditate the expulsion or destruction of the Spaniards. The priests and

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\* Equal to 22l. 10s. sterling at 4. 6d. per peso. But in the beginning of the sixteenth century the effective value of money was at least ten times as great as at present, and 100 pesos were therefore equivalent to above 200l. at this day.

Leading men held frequent consultations on the subject. But as violent proceedings might have proved fatal to the captive monarch, it was necessary to try gentle means. Having called Cortez into his presence, Montezuma informed him that as the purposes of his mission were fully accomplished, the gods had declared their will and the people signified their desire that he and his followers should return to their own country. This unexpected requisition, and the determined tone of Montezuma, led the Spanish general to conclude that some deep laid scheme was concerted. But conceiving that some advantage might be derived from a seeming compliance, Cortez replied, with the greatest composure, that the proposal exactly coincided with his own wish and intention; but that as he had destroyed his fleet, some time was requisite for building new vessels. This appeared so reasonable that a number of Mexicans were sent to Vera Cruz to cut down timber, and some Spanish carpenters were appointed to superintend the work; while Cortez flattered himself that during the interval some favourable occurrence might extricate him from his critical situation, as he daily expected the return of the deputies who had so long ago sailed with his dispatches to Spain.

During the space of almost six months Cortez had maintained an easy sovereignty over Mexico by governing its monarch. But this state of things could not continue. The obsequiousness of the Mexicans had proceeded from the novelty of circumstances : their submission was reluctant : their veneration for the Spaniards began to decline ; and it was impossible that so feeble a force as Cortez commanded should hold a vast empire in subjection. While the mind of the general was in this state of anxious uncertainty intelligence was brought to Mexico that some ships had appeared on the coast. At first he imagined that his messengers had arrived from Spain, and flattered himself with receiving reinforcements and a royal commission. But his hopes were quickly extinguished by learning that the fleet which had made its appearance was an armament fitted out against him from Cuba. Velasquez, the governor, having obtained from the King the patent of Adelantado of New Spain, had, by extraordinary exertions, equipped an armament, consisting of eighteen ships, having on board eighty cavalry and eight hundred infantry, of whom eighty were musqueteers, and one hundred and twenty crossbow-men, with a train of twelve pieces of cannon. The command was given to Pamphilo de Narvaez, with instructions to seize Cortez and his principal officers, to send them

prisoners to Cuba, and then to complete the reduction of the country.

Narvaez, soon after his landing, was joined by three of the Spaniards who had been sent out in search of mines, and from them he learned the state of affairs and the situation of Cortez in Mexico. On the other hand a priest, whom Narvaez had sent to summon the garrison of Vera Cruz, being, with his attendants, seized by the governor and sent to Mexico, Cortez, by caresses and presents, obtained from them an account of every particular relative to the force and the object of the new expedition.

Imagination can scarcely conceive a situation more trying than that in which Cortez was placed at this critical juncture. He had now to begin a new contest, not with ill armed and undisciplined Americans, but with an army of his own countrymen, equal to his own in courage and tactical skill, in number far superior, and acting under the sanction of the royal authority. He was sensible that by waiting the approach of Narvaez, in Mexico, destruction was inevitable; for while the Spaniards pressed him from without, the inhabitants would not fail to seize so favourable an opportunity of victory and vengeance. On the other hand it was evident that he could not abandon the capital without relinquishing all his advantages. By gaining a bloody victory

over his antagonist his force would be too much weakened to maintain its station in a hostile country, and if vanquished by Narvaez he had nothing to expect but the fate of a rebel and traitor.

After contemplating in every point of view the various dangers by which he was surrounded, Cortez, with the decisive intrepidity suited to desperate situations, resolved to make, under every disadvantage, a bold effort to extricate himself from his difficulties. He knew that the contest must be decided by arms, but in order to justify his conduct, he thought it expedient to make an offer of negotiation. For this purpose he sent Father Bartholomew d'Olmeida to the enemy's camp. Narvaez rejected every proposal with contempt; but Olmeida met with better success among the troops. By his persuasive address and splendid promises, seconded by presents, judiciously distributed, he succeeded in alienating them from their commander, and brought many, both of the officers and soldiers, to incline secretly to the party of Cortez.

His proposals for accommodation being rejected, Cortez determined instantly to march against Narvaez. He left 150 men in Mexico, under the command of Pedro de Alvarado, to whom he committed the care of the city;

and of the captive monarch, from whom he endeavoured, by all possible means, to conceal the cause of his departure. His force, even after he was joined by the garrison of Vera Cruz, did not exceed two hundred and fifty men. During his march, Cortez sent to Narvaez successive messengers, who, under the pretence of soliciting peace, found means to complete the corruption of his troops. Narvaez, in the mean while, issued a proclamation in which he declared Cortez and his adherents rebels and enemies to their country, and set a price on the heads of him and his principal officers.

Cortez having advanced within a league of the enemy's camp, took a strong position on the banks of a river, which, running along his front, secured him from an attack. But the necessity of hastening his return to the support of his feeble garrison in Mexico, did not permit him to remain long on the defensive. The urgency of his affairs obliged him to bring the contest to a speedy termination ; and he resolved to attack the position of Narvaez in the dead of night, when the surprise and terror of the enemy might counterbalance the superiority of his numbers. The success of the measure proved the justness of his calculation. His soldiers and officers, sensible that no resource remained but in a desperate effort, advanced, in profound silence,

to the attack. The enemy's artillery was instantly seized. Narvaez, falling out of his quarters, was wounded, made prisoner, and immediately loaded with fetters. The darkness of the night increased the confusion of his soldiers; and, after a short resistance, the whole army capitulated. Cortez gave them the choice of being sent back to Cuba, or of engaging in his service on the same conditions as his own troops. The latter proposal, seconded by a seasonable distribution of presents, with dazzling representations of the glorious prospects before them, was almost universally accepted, and the readiness with which they ranged themselves under the banners of Cortez, as well as the easy decision of the contest, with the loss of only two men on the victorious side, and no more than two officers and fifteen privates of the adverse party, exhibit a proof, almost convincing, that the ruin of Narvaez was effected by the arts as much as by the arms of his antagonist.

The promptitude of Cortez, in bringing the affair so speedily to an issue, was necessary for saving the feeble corps which was left in Mexico. Soon after his departure the Mexicans, seeing their invaders engaged in a civil war among themselves, had seized the favourable opportunity to attack the Spanish quarters. Several of the Spaniards were killed and many more

wounded, their magazines of provisions were destroyed, and although, under the conduct of Alvarade, they defended themselves with dauntless resolution, they had no other prospect than either to perish by famine or to be overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies. The danger being too imminent to admit of deliberation or delay, Cortez, on receiving the intelligence, instantly prepared for marching back to Mexico. In passing through Tlascala he was joined by two thousand chosen warriors. From that place he advanced rapidly to Mexico; and what is most astonishing, the Mexicans suffered him again to enter the city without opposition, and to take quiet possession of his former station, a conduct for which it is difficult to assign any reason.

The arrival of Cortez delivered Alvarado from his perilous situation; and the people, for a while, were awed into tranquillity. But the calm was of short duration. The great accession of strength which Cortez had received by the junction of the troops of Narvaez, rendered him less careful in disguising his sentiments, and the Mexicans, who had flattered themselves that the Spaniards were about to depart, no longer doubted of their intention to subjugate the country. Excited by the spirit of patriotism and vengeance they flew to arms. Their numer-

ous multitudes advanced with extraordinary martial pomp to assault the Spanish quarters; and their undaunted courage astonished their enemies. Though every blow of the Spanish weapons fell with a mortal effect on their unprotected bodies—though the artillery, playing against the numerous assailants crowded together in narrow streets, swept off multitudes at every discharge, nothing could abate the impetuosity of their attacks. Fresh combatants rushed forward to occupy the places of the slain, and meeting with the same fate were succeeded by others not less intrepid and desperate; and it required all the abilities of Cortez, as well as all the valour and discipline of his troops, to defend the fortifications with which their station was surrounded.

In the evening the Mexicans, according to their general custom of warfare, retired from the assault; and the next morning Cortez resolved to make a grand effort in order to become master of the city, or at least to compel the enemy to listen to terms of accommodation. In this view he sallied forth at the head of a considerable body of his troops. But he found the Mexicans prepared to receive him. Their force was greatly augmented by fresh levies which continually poured in from the country. Led on by their nobles, and inflamed by the exhorta-

tions of their priests, they displayed an enthusiastic contempt of danger and death. Though thousands of them fell, and part of the city was destroyed by fire, their desperate ardour was nothing abated. The Spaniards, wearied with incessant exertions, and pressed by multitudes successively rushing forwards, were obliged to retire to their quarters with the unusual loss of twelve soldiers killed and sixty wounded. A second sally, in which Cortez received a wound in the hand, was equally ineffectual. The Mexicans grew every day more daring, as their dread of the Spaniards began to abate since they discovered them to be neither immortal nor invincible.

Cortez, who had little expected to meet with so determined an opposition from a people who had so long continued passive under his yoke, perceived, too late, that he could neither maintain his position in Mexico, nor effect a retreat without imminent danger. His only resource was to employ the authority of Montezuma to overawe his ferocious and exasperated subjects. The Mexicans, nothing discouraged by their loss in the preceding actions, and determined to exterminate the Spaniards, approached to renew the attack on their quarters. In this emergency the unfortunate monarch was brought forward to the battlements, arrayed in his royal robes.

At the sight of their sovereign, whom they had been accustomed almost to revere as a Deity, the insurgents bowed their heads, and many of them fell prostrate on the ground. The unfortunate Monarch addressed them in a harangue which Cortez had dictated, and in which he employed every argument to induce them to cease from hostilities. But no sooner had he concluded his speech than a murmur of disapprobation was succeeded by transports of fury which made them forget every sentiment of respect for their sovereign. Flights of arrows and volleys of stones were instantly poured upon the ramparts. The attack was so sudden that before the Spanish soldiers could screen him with their bucklers, Montezuma was struck by the blow of a stone to the ground. On seeing him fall the Mexicans, struck with astonishment and remorse, instantly fled with horror, as if they dreaded the vengeance of heaven for their crime.\* Montezuma being conveyed to his apartments Cortez endeavoured to console him under his misfortune. The unhappy monarch, however, resolved not to survive his degradation ; he tore the bandages from his wounds, and refused with such obstinacy to take any nourishment that he

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\* It appears, from the whole narrative of these transactions, that how much soever Montezuma was hated in the provinces, he was idolized in the capital.

expired in a few days. The Spaniards endeavoured in vain to convert him to the christian faith ; but it is no wonder that the Mexican Emperor refused to embrace christianity when preached to him by such Apostles as Cortez and his followers, whose actions were a tissue of fraud and violence, and whose injustice he had so fatally experienced.

The death of Montezuma having freed the Mexicans from that restraint which their veneration for his person and dignity had imposed on their conduct ; they breathed nothing but war and vengeance. Their chiefs, in whom the right of electing the Emperor was vested, immediately raised his brother, Quetlavaca, to the throne. This Prince was not less distinguished by his courage and prudence than by his inveterate enmity to the Spaniards : and he immediately began his arrangements for the vigorous prosecution of hostilities. The tower of the great temple, which overlooked the Spanish quarters, being occupied by a body of chosen warriors, the troops of Cortez were constantly exposed to their missile weapons. In attempting to dislodge them from this commanding post a strong detachment of Spaniards, under Juan d'Escobar, were thrice repulsed. Cortez, putting himself at their head, rushed sword in hand to the attack ; and the Spaniards, animated by the

presence of their general, returned to the charge with such vigour, that they forced their way up the steps, and drove the Mexicans to the platform on the top.\* Here two Mexican chiefs, resolving to sacrifice their lives for the benefit of their country, seized on Cortez, and precipitated themselves headlong from the summit, in the hope of dragging him with them in their fall; but Cortez, by an effort of strength and agility, rescued himself from their hands, and both of them perished in their desperate attempt.† After a horrible carnage of the Mexicans the Spaniards became masters of the platform, and set fire to the tower.

The prodigious loss which the Mexicans sustained in every conflict at length induced them to change their system of warfare. Under the direction of their new Emperor they arranged their plans with greater judgment and foresight than they had hitherto displayed, and instead of incessantly attacking the Spaniards, they resolved to keep them closely blockaded, and to effect their extermination by famine. Ever

\* The great temple at Mexico was a solid mound of earth, faced partly with stone, thirty yards square at the base and ten yards square at the top, the ascent was by steps on the outside. Robertson's *Hist. Amer.* vol. 3. p. 149.

† Clavigero, in his *History of Mexico*, seems to give little credit to this relation, the action, however, is recorded by Herrera. Dec. 2. lib. 10. c. 9. on whose authority it is inserted by Robertson in his *History of America*, vol. 2. p. 253.

since the death of Montezuma, Cortez had foreseen the necessity of a retreat, and he was now determined to retire, without loss of time, from this scene of distress and danger. But he was not ignorant of the difficulty of carrying the measure into execution; and he chose the silent hour of midnight as the most favourable to the attempt. The Spaniards and Tlascalans began their retreat in three divisions. Sandoval led the van; Cortez commanded the centre, in which he placed the prisoners, among whom were a son and two daughters of Montezuma and several Mexican nobles, with the artillery, the baggage, and a portable bridge of timber for passing the breaches which the Mexicans had made in the causeway; and Alvarado and Velasquez de Leon conducted the rear. They advanced in profound silence along the causeway that led to Tacuba, and having reached the first breach without molestation, they flattered themselves that their retreat was undiscovered.

But the Mexicans had carefully watched their motions and made proper dispositions for a formidable attack. While the Spaniards were occupied in passing the breach by means of their bridge, they were suddenly alarmed by the tremendous sound of warlike instruments, and assailed by innumerable multitudes of enemies. All Mexico was in arms; and the lake was

covered with canoes. The bridge being wedged so fast by the weight of the artillery that it could not be moved, the Spaniards advanced with precipitation and dismay towards the second breach. The Mexicans rushing forward with fearless impetuosity pressed them on every side. Crowded together on a narrow causeway, the discipline and military skill of the Spaniards were of little avail. The assaults were incessant: fresh warriors instantly supplied the place of those who fell; and successive multitudes continually pushed forward those in the front with irresistible violence. The Spaniards fought with their usual intrepidity; but at length being worn out by violent and continual exertion, and unable to sustain the weight of the torrent that poured in upon them, they began to give way, and a dreadful scene of confusion and slaughter ensued. Part of them broke through the enemy, many overwhelmed by the multitude of assailants, fell covered with wounds, and numbers perished in the lake; but the most unfortunate of the sufferers were those who, being taken alive, were hurried away to be sacrificed to the God of War. Cortez, with about a hundred foot and a few horse, forced his way over the two remaining breaches in the causeway, but was obliged to return to the assistance of those who had not yet effected their retreat.

Before daylight appeared all who had escaped were assembled at Tacuba. But the morning exhibited a melancholy scene. Many officers of distinction had fallen, and among these was Velasquez de Leon, who was regarded as the second person in the army. More than half of the Spaniards and above two thousand Tlascalans had perished.\* The greater part of the horses were killed, and all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage were lost, together with most of their treasure.†

Some repose being necessary for the wearied soldiers, most of whom were covered with wounds, Cortez took possession of a temple where he not only found some provision, but was able, without difficulty, to repel the reiterated

\* The different accounts which the Spanish authors have given of the loss sustained in this retreat, shew how little reliance is to be had on numerical statements in history. Cortez, whose interest it was at that juncture to conceal from the court of Spain the full extent of his loss, states in his dispatches the number of Spaniards who perished at only 150. Barth. Diaz, one of his officers, solicitous to magnify the sufferings of himself and his companions, states them at 860, and says that only 440 escaped out of Mexico. Other historians equally disagree in their statements. But Cortez had upwards of 1200 men, and from his numbers after that event he must have lost at least 660. Vide Robertson's Hist. Amer. vol. 2. note 118.

† Dr. Robertson seems to have fallen into a strange inconsistency if we compare p. 226 with p. 257, vol. 2. Hist. Amer. In the former place he asserts that on the division of their treasure, the share of a private soldier was only 100 pesos: in the latter he says that many of the soldiers fell victims to their avarice by loading themselves with bars of gold. Where and when had they met with the opportunity of obtaining all this gold after the division was made. Surely the weight of 100 pesos, 22l. 10s. sterling, most of it in gold, very little being in silver, could not greatly overload a soldier.

attacks of the Mexicans. He then directed his march round the north end of the lake towards Tlescala, the only place where he could hope for a favourable reception. The Spaniards marched, during the space of six days, through an ill-cultivated country, producing scarcely any provisions. While famine was wasting their strength and depressing their spirits, their situation required the most vigorous and unremitting exertions, their retreat being incessantly harraßed by the desultory attacks of numerous bodies of Mexicans, who had issued from the capital, or were collected in the provinces. But they were animated by the example of their commander, who was foremost in every danger, and under this sad reverse of fortune displayed an unshaken magnanimity.

On the sixth day of their march they arrived at the valley of Otumba, through which they were obliged to pass, and where the Mexicans were prepared to make a grand effort to intercept their retreat. On ascending an eminence the Spaniards beheld the whole plain covered with an immense army, extending farther than the eye could reach. At this sight the boldest began to despair. But Cortez, without allowing time for their fears to operate, briefly warned them that no other alternative remained than victory or death, and instantly led them to the

charge. The Mexicans fought with dauntless intrepidity ; but the superiority of the European discipline and arms produced the same effects as in every other encounter. The impression of the small battalion of Spaniards was irresistible, and what way soever its force was directed, it penetrated and dispersed the numerous multitudes of the enemy. But successive bodies of combatants continually advancing, the Spaniards, though successful in every charge, yet seeing no end of their toil, were ready to sink under their reiterated efforts. At this critical moment Cortez, at the head of some of his bravest officers, pushing forward with an irresistible impetuosity, killed the Mexican General, and seized the great standard of the empire, on the fate of which the success of every battle was supposed to depend. The moment that the standard disappeared, the Mexicans, struck with an universal panic, threw down their arms and fled with the greatest precipitation. The Spaniards having collected the spoils, found them so valuable as to be some compensation for the treasures lost in Mexico ; and the following day, 8th of July, 1520, they entered the Tlascalan territories, where they were received with the greatest cordiality.

The dangers, the hardships, and the loss which had attended their retreat, induced many of the

Spaniards to be desirous of abandoning, as soon as possible, a country which had proved so fatal to their hopes. But Cortez, whose mind was as eminent for perseverance as for enterprise, persisted in his original resolution of conquering the Mexican empire or losing his life. Full of this idea he began to prepare for renewing the war, and dispatched an officer of confidence with four ships to Hispaniola and Jamaica to engage adventurers, and to purchase horses, gunpowder, and other warlike stores. The martial spirit of the Tlascalans, and their inveterate enmity to the Mexican name, together with a liberal distribution of presents to their chiefs, encouraged him to expect, and enabled him to obtain whatever aid he required from their republic. As he knew it would be in vain to attempt the reduction of Mexico without first securing the command of the lake, he gave orders to cut down timber in the mountains of Tlascala, and to prepare materials for the construction of twelve brigantines, so that they might be carried thither in pieces, and launched when necessary.

But, in the midst of his preparations, he was greatly embarrassed and alarmed by the spirit of mutiny which broke out among his troops. The original adventurers were animated by the same spirit as their leader; but those who had come with Narvaez were less bold and perse-

vering. In joining the standard of Cortez they had expected to share in the spoils of a conquered empire, but instead of such good fortune they found themselves engaged in a dangerous war. As soon as they saw themselves shut up in Mexico they discovered their mistake, and execrated their weakness in giving credit to the delusive promises of their new leader. Their subsequent misfortunes had confirmed them in their aversion of the enterprise. Such of them as had the good fortune to survive the perilous adventures in which they had been involved, trembled at the thought of being a second time exposed to similar calamities; and no sooner were they apprized of the intentions of Cortez than they presented a remonstrance against the imprudence of attacking Mexico with his shattered forces, and demanded to be instantly led back to Cuba.

Cortez employed arguments, entreaties, and presents, to incite them to perseverance, and prevailed so far as to induce them to defer, for some time, their departure. In order to prevent the indulgence of disagreeable reflections he kept his troops employed in various expeditions against the adjacent provinces. These being conducted with invariable success, his followers again became accustomed to victory, and returned to a sense of their superiority, while the power of the Mexican empire was weakened, and

the Tlascalan warriors acquired the habit of acting in conjunction with the Spaniards.

Amidst the numerous difficulties in which Cortez was so frequently involved several instances of good fortune are observable. The armament of Narvaez, which was designed for his destruction, had added between eight and nine hundred men to his forces. At this juncture two ships, which had been sent by the governor of Cuba, with a supply of men and military stores for that general, whose success Velasquez had considered as certain, being decoyed into the harbour of Vera Cruz, were seized by Cortez; and the soldiers readily agreed to follow his standard. Another ship of considerable force, fitted out by the governor of Jamaica, for the purpose of intruding into some part of New Spain, and dividing with Cortez the glory of the conquest, was, after a series of disasters, compelled by famine to enter the port of Vera Cruz, where the adventurers enlisted under the banners of Cortez. A vessel also arrived from Spain, freighted with military stores by some private merchants in the hope of a profitable market; and Cortez, having purchased the cargo, which to him was invaluable, easily persuaded the crew to engage in his service. From these various quarters the army of Cortez was augmented by 180 men and twenty horses; and

having received this reinforcement, he dismissed such of the soldiers of Narvaez as remained with reluctance in his service, and whose disaffection was so visible that he could place no reliance on their fidelity.

The army of Cortez now amounted to five hundred and fifty Spanish infantry, of which eighty were armed with muskets or cross-bows, forty horsemen, with a train of nine field-pieces, and ten thousand Tlascalans. With this force he began his march towards Mexico on the 28th December, 1520, almost six months after his disastrous retreat from that city. Having met with little opposition in his route, he took possession of Tezeuco, the second city of the empire, situated near the banks of the lake, about twenty miles from Mexico. Here he established his head-quarters, as the most proper station for launching his brigantines.

In the mean while the Mexican Emperor, Quetzlavaca, was actively employed in providing for the defence of the capital, which he strengthened with such fortifications as the skill of his subjects was capable of constructing. Besides filling his magazines with provisions, and collecting, in abundance, the usual weapons of war, he gave directions for making long spears, headed with the swords and daggers taken from the Spaniards, in order to oppose the charge of

cavalry. He summoned the people in every province of the empire to take arms; and he sent to Tlascala ambassadors, who, by the most artful address, and the most plausible arguments, endeavoured in vain to detach the chiefs of that republic from their alliance with the Spaniards. But while Quetlavaca was arranging his plans he died of the small pox, a disorder unknown in America till it was introduced by the Europeans, but which raged at that time in Mexico with a fatal malignity. In consequence of this event, Guatimozin, nephew and son-in-law of Montezuma, a young Prince of distinguished abilities and valour, was raised to the Mexican throne.

Three months elapsed before the brigantines were completed; but to Cortez this long interval was not a time of inaction. He reduced by arms some of the towns situated round the lake, and attached others to his party by negotiation. Most of the cities adjacent to Mexico had originally been the capitals of independent states: some of them had been recently subjected to the Mexican empire, and bore the yoke with impatience. By promising to free them from the Mexican dominion he induced the people of several considerable districts to acknowledge the sovereignty of the crown of Castile, and to assist the Spaniards in carrying on the war. The

defection was so general that Cortez collected an army of 140,000 Mexican subjects to assist him in his operations against the capital.

But while the general thus strengthened his army with American auxiliaries, a conspiracy among the Spanish troops was near proving fatal to his plans and his life. Some of the soldiers of Narvaez had seemed willing to remain when the others departed; but on a nearer view of the dangers which they had to encounter in assaulting a city of so difficult access as Mexico, and defended by so numerous an army, their resolution began to fail, and their aversion to the enterprise was increased by the machinations of Antonio Villefragna, a private foldier of an artful and intriguing disposition. Under his direction a conspiracy was formed for assassinating Cortez and his principal officers, and electing new commanders. But the plot being discovered by one of the conspirators, Cortez, accompanied by some of his confidential officers, instantly repaired to the quarters of Villefragna, and having secured the traitor, seized a paper containing the names of all the conspirators. Having retired to read the paper he found some names which he had little expected to see in such a list. But as, at so critical a juncture, a strict scrutiny might have been dangerous, he confined his judicial inquiries to Villefragna alone, who, after a short trial, was

condemned, and the next morning was seen hanging before his quarters. Cortez having assembled his troops explained to them the justice of the punishment inflicted on Villefragna, and artfully declared that as the traitor had suddenly swallowed a paper and could not be induced to make any confession, he was ignorant of many particulars relating to this horrid transaction, as well as of the names of the parties concerned. By this judicious procedure Cortez had the advantage of being able to observe the conduct of those whom he knew to be disaffected, while they, flattering themselves that their guilt was unknown, endeavoured to avert suspicion by redoubling their zeal and activity.

The materials for building the brigantines being prepared, the timber and iron works, the sails, cordage, and all the infinite variety of articles requisite for their construction, were to be carried sixty miles overland, across a mountainous country, by a people who had no beasts of burden, nor any machines to aid their operations. The painful task was performed by 8000 Tlascalan labourers, who carried the whole on their shoulders, while 1500 of their warriors accompanied them as a guard; and a body of 200 Spanish infantry, and fifteen horsemen, with two field-pieces, under the command of Sandoval, being sent by Cortez for their protection against

the parties of Mexicans which were seen constantly hovering around them, the whole convoy arrived in safety at Tezeuco. About the same time four ships from Hispaniola arrived at Vera Cruz with two hundred soldiers, eighty horses, two pieces of battering cannon, and a considerable supply of ammunition and stores.

To facilitate the launching of the brigantines a number of Indians had been employed during the space of two months in deepening a small rivulet which ran from Tezeuco into the lake, and forming it into a canal nearly two miles in length; and, in spite of the attempts of the Mexicans to prevent it, the work was completed. On the 28th April, 1521, the whole army being drawn up in martial array on the banks of the canal, the brigantines were launched, and the rites of religion being employed to render the spectacle more impressive, they received the benediction of Father Olmeida as they fell down towards the lake.

Every thing being in readiness for commencing operations against Mexico, Cortez determined to attack the city from three different quarters by the three causeways. He appointed Sandoval to command the attack to be made from Tepeaca; Pedro de Alvarado that from Tacuba; and Christoval de Olid that from Cuyocan. The general himself took the com-

mand of the brigantines, each of which was manned with twenty-five Spaniards, and carried a small piece of cannon. The Mexicans, dreading the operations of these vessels, resolved to attempt their destruction. They covered the lake with their canoes, and rowed boldly forward to the charge. But the brigantines easily broke through their fleet, sunk many of their canoes, and dispersed the whole armament with such slaughter as convinced the Mexicans that the superiority of the Spaniards was greater on the water than they had found it on the land. Cortez being now master of the lake formed the brigantines into three divisions, appointing one of them to cover each of the three causeways by which it was necessary to make the approaches. From all the three stations the attack was carried on against the city with equal vigour. Each morning the troops assailed the barricadoes, which had been erected on the causeways, forced their way over the trenches which had been dug and the canals where the bridges had been broken down, and endeavoured to penetrate into the city, expecting by this measure to bring the war to a speedy termination. But the obstinate valour of the Mexicans disputed every inch of ground, and each day the assailants saw their toils and their dangers renewed. During the space of a month the Spaniards continued their

attacks in this manner without being able to reach the city; and the Mexicans, however inferior in skill, showed themselves equal to their enemies in courage.

The Spanish general having lost many of his soldiers in these furious and almost continual conflicts, and seeing the rest ready to sink under the pressure of unremitted fatigue, determined to make one grand effort to gain possession of the city. With this view he sent orders to Sandoval and Alvarado, to advance to a general assault by the causeways of Tepeaca and Tacuba, while he conducted in person the attack by the causeway of Cuyocan. Animated by his presence the Spaniards rushed forward with resistless impetuosity. Having broken through all the barricadoes, and forced their way over the breaches in the causeway, they entered the city in spite of the number and ferocity of their opponents. But this brilliant success was the forerunner of a dreadful disaster. Julien de Alderete, was left by Cortez to fill up the gaps in the causeway, in order to secure a retreat if circumstances should render it necessary. But that officer esteeming it inglorious to be thus employed while his companions were rushing on to victory, neglected the important duty, and inconsiderately hurried on to join the combatants.

The Mexican Emperor was no sooner informed of the circumstance than he ordered his troops to slacken their efforts, in order to allure the Spaniards to advance, while he dispatched a numerous body of chosen warriors, by different streets, towards the great breach in the causeway. On a signal, the priests in the principal temple began to beat the great drum consecrated to the God of War. The Mexicans, on hearing its doleful solemn sound, adapted to inspire them with enthusiastic ardour, rushed on their enemies with frantic rage. The Spaniards, unable to resist their impetuous attack, began to retire at first in good order; but when they came to the great breach in the causeway, being closely pressed by the enemy, the terror and confusion became so great that horsemen and infantry plunged in promiscuously, while the Mexicans, whose light canoes carried them over shoals which the brigantines could not pass, poured upon them on every side. Cortez, while exerting himself to save some of those who had plunged into the water, was seized by six Mexican captains, who were hurrying him off when two of his officers rescued him at the expense of their own lives. In the struggle, however, he received several dangerous wounds. Besides a great number of Tlascalans, above twenty Spaniards were killed or drowned; but what was infinitely more calamitous, forty more

tell alive into the hands of the Mexicans, and were offered in sacrifice to their sanguinary deities.

The night exhibited a solemn and horrible scene. All Mexico resounded with the clamour of the barbarous triumph and horrid festival with which they celebrated their victory. Every quarter of the city was illuminated, and the great temple shone with such splendour that the Spaniards, from the stations of both Cortez and Alvarado, could clearly perceive the people in motion, and the priests employed in sacrificing the prisoners. After the performance of these horrid rites they sent the heads of the Spaniards, whom they had immolated, into the adjacent provinces, assuring the people that the God of War, appeased by the blood of the victims, had declared that, within the space of eight days, the invaders should be finally exterminated. The prediction obtained universal belief among a people prone to superstition, and the Indian auxiliaries, accustomed to revere the same deities with the Mexicans, and to give the same implicit credit to their priests, abandoned the Spaniards as a race devoted to destruction. Cortez, considering that time would soon dispel the delusion, suspended all military operations during the period marked out by the oracle, and under

cover of the brigantines his troops lay in safety till the fatal term was expired. After so striking a proof of the fallacy of the prediction, his allies returned to their station, and he immediately re-commenced the operations of the siege.

Warned by the preceding disasters, Cortez now changed his system. He made his advances gradually and with every possible precaution: and as the Spaniards pushed forward, the Indians repaired the causeways. In this manner they at length reached the city. The Mexicans, however, continued their resistance with unabated vigour, and incredible numbers of them fell in the conflicts which were daily renewed. At the same time the ravages of famine were added to those of war. No fewer than 200,000 people are supposed to have been in Mexico during the siege;\* and the stores which Guatimozin had laid up were exhausted by the multitudes which had crowded from the country into the capital to defend their sovereign and the temples of their gods. The Spanish brigantines having the entire command of the lake, prevented the entrance of any supplies by water, and the Tlascalans and other auxiliaries blocked up all the avenues by land.

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\* Dr. Robertson's Hist. Amer. note 121. This, however, it was impossible to ascertain.

While the Mexicans laboured under these calamities, the Spaniards gradually advanced, till at length, on the 27th July, all the three divisions penetrated into the great square in the middle of the city. Three-fourths of Mexico were now reduced and laid in ruins; and the remaining quarter being incapable of much longer resistance, Guatimozin resolved to retire from the capital, in order to erect his standard and renew the war with greater advantage in some distant part of the empire. In order to facilitate his escape, he endeavoured to amuse Cortez by negotiations. But the Spanish General suspecting his intention, ordered the commanders of the brigantines to keep a strict watch. By their vigilance and activity the Mexican Emperor was discovered and captured in attempting to cross the lake in a canoe. As soon as the fate of the sovereign was known, all resistance on the part of the Mexicans ceased; and on the 13th August, 1521, the Spaniards took possession of that small part of the city which remained undestroyed.\* Thus terminated the memorable siege of Mexico after seventy-five days of almost incessant attack, attended with an incredible slaughter of its in-

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\* A narrative of the conquest of Mexico is found in Herrera, extending from Dec. 1519 to Dec. 1521, vol. 1, c. 1.

habitants. But the plunder of the city was far from answering the expectations of the conquerors. Guatimozin, aware of his impending fate, had ordered his treasures to be thrown into the lake : the Indian auxiliaries had, at different times, carried off the greatest part of the spoils of the city ; and the insignificant sum of 120,000 pesos, was all the gold and silver that the Spaniards could collect amidst scenes of carnage and desolation. Exasperated at the disappointment, they loudly accused the general and his confidants of embezzling the wealth that ought to have been brought to the common stock ; and their turbulence impelled Cortez to subject Guatimozin to the torture, in order to extort from him a discovery of the royal treasures which he was supposed to have concealed. The monarch supported his sufferings with invincible fortitude, and Cortez, struck with horror at the scene, gave orders for his liberation. Guatimozin, however, was reserved for future calamities. On the slight suspicion, confirmed by very imperfect evidence, that he had formed a scheme for exciting his former subjects to cast off the Spanish yoke, Cortez ordered the unfortunate monarch, with the Caziques of Tezeuca and Tacuba, to be hanged without the formality of a trial : by these and other acts of cruelty he

arnished the lustre of his arms and the glory of his splendid achievements.

The fate of Cortez resembled, in some measure, that of Columbus; and the conqueror of Mexico, like the discoverer of America, experienced the malevolence of his enemies in Europe. While acquiring for the crown of Spain such extensive dominions, he was destitute of any commission or authority from the sovereign whom he was serving with such unparalleled success, and was regarded as a seditious subject. By the influence of Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, and president of the Council of the Indies, his conduct, in assuming the government of New Spain, was declared to be an irregular usurpation in contempt of the royal authority; and Christoval de Tapia was sent with a commission to supercede him, to seize his person, and confiscate his effects. But Cortez, by a series of negotiations, conducted with the most consummate address, baffled the machinations of his enemies. The public voice declared loudly in his favour. And Charles V. who, about that time, arrived in Spain, preferring the sense of the nation to that of his intriguing courtiers, appointed him Captain-General and Governor of the country which he had conquered, a reward certainly not too great for his merit. The exploits of Cortez, with his

handful of Spaniards, have produced greater effects than have resulted from all the projects which at that time agitated the minds of the monarchs and ministers of Europe.\*

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\* Cortez, after being established in his government, re-built Mexico, which is now the largest and most opulent city in America.

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